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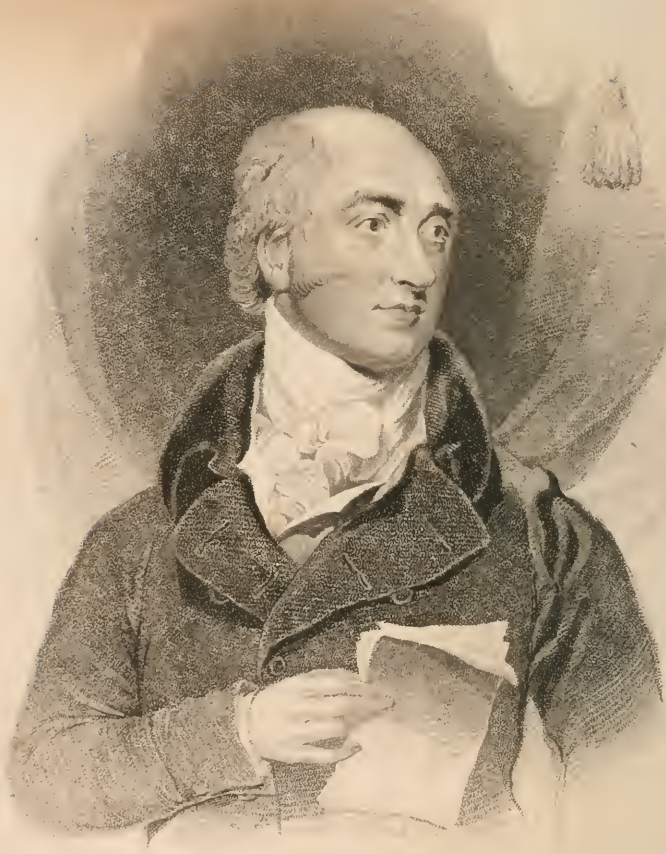

Engraved by J. Posselwhite from a Miniature in the Possession of the Family

George Canning

First Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury &
Chancellor of the Exchequer

MEMOIR

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE CANNING,

LATE PREMIER OF ENGLAND;

WITH

HIS PARLIAMENTARY ORATIONS,

ALL HIS POEMS, ESSAYS, &c.

By LEMAN THOMAS REDE, Esq.

PROFESSOR OF ELOCUTION.

Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
You would say, it hath been all-in-all his study:
List his discourse of war, and you shall hear
A fearful battle render'd you in music:
Turn him to any cause of policy,
The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
Familiar as his garter;—that, when he speaks,
The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
To steal his sweet and honied sentences.

SHAKESPEARE.

London:

Printed by C. Baynes, Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields;

FOR G. VIRTUE, IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW;

BATH STREET, BRISTOL; AND ST. VINCENT STREET, LIVERPOOL.

1827.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA

PREFACE.

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BIOGRAPHY is the tribute gratitude pays to merit; but the biography of Canning, produced at such a moment as this, sounds like a lament. It is to speak of the sunshine that shall never warm us more; of the guiding light that, suddenly extinguished, has left us in darkness and in sorrow. Political animosities, personal enmities, the galling sense of hopeless inferiority, all sink and have sunk under the stunning effect the announcement of Canning's death has produced. Such a sensation has only once before been created in this country,—the death of the Princess Charlotte equally affected all classes. In her case, the deep sympathy, the love of the people, was bestowed upon the young and beauteous mother, laid in an untimely grave; she was mourned as the blighted promise of a brilliant day—the nation had lost her it had been proud to cherish; but now, the nation has lost *him* who was to cherish *it*. It is with the very selfishness of grief that all hearts are wrung—the hand that was to

guide us to safety, to honour, has grown cold, and the master spirit that was to direct a country has passed away for ever. There may be fewer tears for our recent loss, but there will be a deeper, a more lasting regret. She, for whom all England wept, had only gained on the affections of her people; she was the infant of our love, and her memory is indeed a sweet regret. But the death of Canning is a bereavement that time can only aggravate, as it will tend to show "how incapable" all else is "to supply his loss." England has been deprived of her friend, her adviser; the national bark is bereft of her pilot, at the very hour when he was steering her through a stormy ocean, to the harbour of prosperity and glory.

Hope, that like the rainbow rises ever amid tears, finds a consolation in the belief that the brilliant career of Canning will awaken the energies of others. His example will stimulate many to emulate what none can equal. His spirit shall generate other spirits, as the dying flower sheds its seed in its decay, and reproduces itself.

It is this hope that sustains the nation; it is this hope that bids the biographer give his feeble aid to perpetuate the memory of one whose genius has made him immortal. Canning was the architect of his own fame,—he attained the *end*, it is

for biography to display the *means;* and, by tracing his footsteps, point the path to others—a path that, though strewed with thorns, and beset with dangers, leads to the bowers of Fame, where Canning's wreath of laurel will bloom freshly for ever.

Canning is one of the many instances that this country (above all others) can adduce of the mastery genius may acquire over birth, wealth, and power; a mastery unaided by petty intrigue, or the sacrifice of any manly feeling; not bought by the sale of his conscience, or the compromise of his honour. Without a name, without a patron—destitute of money and of friends—he found his way by the light of his own mind through the dark path of politics. Without title, he overcame the possessors of it. Birth, power, and rank, were arrayed in numbers against him, yet he singly conquered all, and was at once the protector of his friends and the terror of his foes.

He offended his King rather than compromise his feelings, and gave up place rather than sacrifice his honour. His monarch might not love, but he must admire him. He ended his days as the chosen adviser of him whom he had the courage to oppose. His advancement to his high office was alike honourable to his Majesty and his

Minister; it proved the greatness of the mind of the one, it rewarded the integrity of the other.

There is no apology necessary for offering a Memoir of such a man to the public—it is called for by the universal voice; but it is indeed necessary to apologise for the inaptitude of him upon whom the task devolves. The author, however, finds consolation in the assurance that there is scarcely any man *now* living, who is really competent to the task he has undertaken. Amid the many who will *attempt* it, he is content to take his place; all that unwearied industry, careful investigation, and strict impartiality, can achieve, he pledges himself to perform. He has also secured the aid of one whose powers are better fitted for the task. Under these circumstances, he feels some confidence in offering this volume to the public, not as a tribute worthy of the memory of him to whom its pages are dedicated, but as a faithful chronicle of the events of the life of one whose days were too few for his country; who yet lived long enough to be esteemed, even by his enemies, as a wit, a scholar, a poet, an orator, a minister, and a man; who had living no rival, and who dead has left us no hope of beholding his like again.

MEMOIR

OF THE

Rt. Hon. GEORGE CANNING.

If the historian wished for a subject to employ the utmost powers of his mind, he would assuredly find it in the history of Europe for the last forty years. During that period, a mere moment in the world's existence, event has succeeded event with such rapidity, that things, that at other eras would have been recorded as wonders, have passed almost unheeded. The Continent, till within the last few years, has been in a state of convulsion perfectly unparalleled; and England, though happily for her not absolutely the scene of contention, has borne so great a part in the general warfare—a warfare of mind, of religion, of liberty, as well as arms—that the life of any public man during such a period must be one of interest:—what, then, must the life of that being be, who passed *thirty-three* years of his existence in the public service,—who knew every movement on which the fate of nations depended, and who was actively employed in the formation and development of schemes to save and aggrandise his own, and to check the power of other nations—whose life was past in wielding a magic wand, by which he ruled the destiny of thousands—who was one of the powers by which that huge machine called government performs its func-

tions—and who rose, by the irresistible impetus of his own genius, to the most important station a subject can hold in this kingdom?

The county which is endeared to literature as that which gave birth to Shakespeare, Warwickshire, was the original residence of the Cannings, the family from whom the late Premier is descended. Foxcote, in Warwickshire, is said still to contain relatives of the family. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and shortly after the religious warfare in Ireland under Fitzmorris, in 1580, one "George Cannynge, of Foxcote," received a grant of the manor of Garvagh, in the county of Londonderry. This grant, however, in fact, was little more than a gift of a considerable extent of waste ground, and residence in Ireland was then and long subsequently extremely dangerous. There, however, this branch of the Cannings settled; for there Stratford Canning, Esq. was known and respected, and looked on as a gentleman of substance, in 1750. Stratford Canning was the father of two sons, one named Paul, who possessed considerable talents, but was a man of steady habits, and who, being bred to trade, ultimately settled as a merchant in London; the other, George Canning, (the father of our hero,) was bred for the law, admitted of the Middle Temple, and called to the bar.*

* It fortunately happens that the author of the present memoir has in his possession many letters, &c. relative to the father of the great Statesman; his (the author's) father having been *a student*, at the time Mr. Canning was at the bar. Mr. L. T. Rede was generally admitted of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and was in the habits of daily intercourse with Mr. Canning, for some years previous to his death, which happened in 1771. From a journal kept by Mr. Rede, it would appear that Mr. Canning was a lover of literature and pleasure, and excessively averse to the dull study of the profession to which his life was doomed to be devoted.

He had left Ireland, when about seventeen, to study the law, and was for some time with a Serjeant Walker, who then resided in Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn. In the public discussions of that day, then more numerous and more respectable than now, Mr. Canning bore a part, though not a very prominent one; he was however recognised as a political writer, and many pamphlets, rendered by their subjects ephemeral, were attributed to his pen. Lothbury, Coachmakers' Hall, and its vicinity, were the places where Mr. Canning, and many of the orators of that day, held private discussions; and, at this period, it is impossible to ascertain whether the father possessed any of that splendid oratorical power that so peculiarly belonged to the son. Amongst many poetical pieces, Mr. Canning wrote some verses illustrative of the supposed feelings of Lord Russell, who was executed for treason in the reign of Charles the Second. These consist of a letter, supposed, by poetical licence, to be addressed by Lord William Russell to Lord William Cavendish, on the 20th of July, 1683, the night previous to his execution.* It commences as follows:

"Lost to the world, to-morrow doom'd to die,
Still for my country's weal my heart beats high.
Though rattling chains ring peals of horror round,
While night's black shades augment the savage sound,
'Midst bolts and bars the active soul is free,
And flies unfetter'd, Cavendish, to thee!

"Thou dear companion of my better days,
When hand in hand we trod the paths of praise;
When leagued with patriots we maintain'd the cause
Of true religion, liberty, and laws,—
Disdaining down the golden stream to glide,
But bravely stemm'd corruption's rapid tide;

* Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday, July 21, 1683.

Think not I come to bid thy tears to flow,
Or melt thy gen'rous soul with tales of woe.
No; view me firm, unshaken, undismay'd,
As when the welcome mandate I obey'd.
Heavens! with what pride that moment I recal!
Who would not wish, so honour'd, thus to fall?
When England's genius hov'ring o'er inspired
Her chosen sons, with love of freedom fired,
Spite of an abject, servile, pension'd train,
Minions of power, and worshippers of gain,
To save from bigotry its destined prey,
And shield three nations from tyrannic sway."

Lord Russell's love for Lady Rachel has ofttimes been the subject of eulogy; when he parted from her, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is past!" this was thus versified by Mr. Canning.

"Oh! my loved Rachael! all-accomplish'd fair!
Source of my joy, and soother of my care!
Whose heavenly virtues and unfading charms,
Have bless'd, through happy years, my peaceful arms!
Parting with thee into my cup was thrown,
Its harshest dregs else had not forced a groan!
But all is o'er—these eyes have gazed their last—
And now the bitterness of death is past!"

Mr. Canning's devotion to the Muses did not meet with paternal approbation; and he was doomed still farther to offend; for he fell in love with a very accomplished and beautiful woman, but who had neither family nor fortune to recommend her. Mr. Canning was a man of too warm a temperament, to listen to the dictates of prudence—it was enough that he loved—that she for whom he owned that passion, was lovely and amiable—he set his life upon a cast, and was married in the year 1769. The consequence of this marriage was, that his father settled £150 per annum upon him, with an intimation, that that was all he would receive during his life; and that his death might lessen, but certainly would not

augment, his income. Mr. Canning was, however, heedless of the frowns of relatives, or the rubs of fortune—he went on, and became entangled in some embarrassments.

At a time when Mr. Canning, in all the restlessness of a man of genius who knows not how to "farm out" his talent to advantage, was attempting to enter trade, of which he knew nothing, our hero was born. George Canning entered this world on the 11th of April, 1770, just as his father had resolved to leave the bar and become a wine-merchant, a scheme that proved wholly unsuccessful. Mr. Canning's life now became a series of struggles, whilst, at every attempt to extricate himself, he became more involved; each new scheme only served to leave him poorer than it found him. "He who struggles unsuccessfully," says Cotton, "tightens the cords he cannot succeed in breaking." Mr. Canning found it so. Beneath the pressure of these annoyances his health declined, and he closed a short life on the 11th April, 1771. He lies in the new burying ground of Mary-le-bone. A tombstone, erected to his memory by his young widow, bears the following lines, said to have been written by herself.

> "Thy virtue and *thy woe* no words can tell,
> Therefore, a little while, my George, farewell;
> For faith and love like ours, Heaven has in store
> Its last, best gift—to meet and part no more."

Mrs. Canning has already survived her husband fifty-six years. She loved him, it is said, with an affection almost amounting to idolatry; and her affection met as warm a return. Mr. Canning was a remarkably handsome man, and the beauty of Mrs. Canning has been frequently the subject of eulogy.

Mrs. Canning was left, with her infant, almost penniless; and the prospects of the widowed mother and her offspring were indeed gloomy. At this juncture, Mr. Paul Canning stepped forward, and offered to rear and

educate his brother's orphan son. The offer was accepted; but Mrs. Canning, though she had thus quieted her anxieties as a mother, was herself without the means of support. Her beauty, and the peculiar sweetness of her voice, urged her to attempt the stage; and she made an essay at some provincial theatre accordingly. Whatever the result of these performances might be, it is evident they procured her friends; for, about 1773, she was introduced to Mr. Garrick. At this period Drury-lane theatre was in great want of a heroine; since the time of Mrs. Pritchard's farewell, (1768), various efforts had been made to supply her loss; and, with this view, Mrs. Canning was brought forward. Such was the interest excited by her appearance, that Garrick, though nearly sixty, consented to perform *Hastings*, a part he had long resigned, to her *Jane Shore*. She appeared, accordingly, on the 5th of November, 1773, but was not particularly successful. This, however, is scarcely to be considered as a proof of want of dramatic power in Mrs. Canning; for our British Melpomene, who appeared very soon afterwards as *Portia*, was considered a failure by the critics of the time. Mrs. Canning was, some years afterwards, united to a provincial actor of the name of Hunn.

The boyhood of George Canning passed without any material occurrence. He was sent at an early age to Eton, where he almost immediately distinguished himself. A clever boy soon attracts notice in a public school; but it requires something besides talent; it requires that decision of character, that consciousness, that will provoke and instigate display. A genius, like that of Kirke White or Keate, would wither and pine—it would become the mockery of the ignorant, and be neglected even by the learned—but the genius of Canning, sparkling, animated, and animating, roused all around him—his wit, his humour, attracted notice—his courage, respect.

Many tales are told of his boyish pugnacity; and it is to be expected, at the present moment, that the fancy of many persons will become excursive, especially in the present rage for reminiscences; but it is most assuredly the fact, that Canning was, in his boyhood, as much indebted to his spirit as to his talent, for the notoriety he had attained. In 1786, we find him "The Captain" at Eton, equally ready to lead on his followers to the field of mischief or of literature—ready either in the frolic abroad, or the closet at home—and recognised as a leader in whatever he attempted.

At the Windsor theatre he was then a constant visitor; and, till the fatal hour of eight struck, he might be seen, wrapt in deep attention, and catching inspiration from Shakespeare, Congreve, and Otway. The trammels of a public school were not adapted to his spirit; but, fortunately, a spirit of rivalry, that then existed between Eton and Harrow, occupied his mind. Canning had already become celebrated as a Latinist. His acquisitions were so numerous, that the labour of his school-days was at an end; and, to employ the leisure that he found, he, in conjunction with John Smith, Esq., who was afterwards of King's College, Cambridge, and Messrs. Robert Smith and John Frere, instituted a periodical work, called *The Microcosm;* the first number of which appeared on the 6th November, 1786. This work was published weekly, and Canning contributed to it largely, marking his articles with the initial B.

Mr. Joseph Mellish, Capel Lofft (the sonnetteer and patron of Bloomfield), Mr. Way, Lord H. Spencer, and Mr. Littlehales, were also contributors to this periodical, that existed until the 30th of July, 1787. This work was inscribed to the Rev. Dr. Davies, then head master of Eton, of whom Canning spoke with the most grateful

affection, and who entertained the highest opinion of the talents of his pupil.

Though not then sixteen, all that Canning produced bore striking proofs of talent; and the style that was then forming, may be traced in his subsequent efforts. In the same spirit as that in which Erasmus composed his mock Eulogy on Folly, our young essayist penned the following Essay on the Noble Art of Swearing.

"SWEARING.

"It has often occurred as a matter of surprise to me and a few friends, who, like myself, can find pleasure in such speculations as arise more immediately from common occurrences, that among the crowd of pretenders who profess to teach every accomplishment, necessary or unnecessary, to form the character of a complete gentleman, no one has as yet attempted to give instructions in a science, the use of which is more generally adopted by all ranks of people, than perhaps any other under the sun. The reader will probably guess that I allude to the noble art of SWEARING.

"So universally, indeed, does this practice prevail, that it pervades all stations and degrees of men, from the peer to the porter, from the minister to the mechanic. It is the bond of faith, the seal of protestations, (the oaths of lovers, indeed, are a theme too trite to need discussion here,) and the universal succedaneum for logical, or even rational demonstration. And here I cannot forbear reflecting on the infinite improvements made by the moderns in the methods of elucidating and confirming all matters of opinion. A man, now-a-days, has need but to acquire one quality—*impudence*, and to get rid of a troublesome companion—*conscience*, to establish whatever maxims he may take in his head. Let him but confirm with an oath

the most improbable conjectures, and if any one calls his honour in question, the manner of settling all such disputes is too obvious to need explanation. And by these means how much unnecessary trouble does he save the rational talents of his auditors! what a world of useless investigation! Who can help lamenting that this method of arguing was not long ago adopted? We should then probably have escaped being pestered by the eternal disputations of that useless set of creatures called philosophers; as any tolerable swordsman might have settled the universal system according to his own plan, and made the planets move by what regulations he pleased, provided he was ready, in the Newgate phrase, 'to swear through thick and thin.'

"But this is a small part only of the advantages attendant on the extensive practice of this art. In the councils of the cabinet, and the wranglings of the bar, it adds weight to the most striking arguments, and by its authority enforces conviction.

"It is an old proverbial expression, that 'there go two words to a bargain;' now I should not a little admire the ingenuity of that calculator, who could define, to any tolerable degree of exactness, how many *oaths* go to one in these days; for I am confident that there is no business carried on, from the wealthiest bargains of the Exchange, to the sixpenny chafferings of a St. Giles's huckster, in which swearing has not a considerable share. And almost every tradesman 'meek and much a liar,' will, if his veracity be called in question, coolly consign to Satan some portion of himself, payable on demand, in case his goods be not found answerable to his description of their quality. I remember to have heard of a person of great talents for inquiry, who, to inform himself whether the land or the water bore the greater proportion on the

globe, contrived to cut out, with extreme nicety from the map, the different portions of each, and weighing them together, decided it, in favour of which it is not now material. Could this experiment be made with regard to the proportion which oaths bear to the rest of our modern conversation, I own I am not without my suspicions, that the former scale would, in some cases, preponderate; nay, certain I am, that these harmless expletives constitute considerably the weightiest part in the discourse of those who, either by their own ignorant vanity, or the contemptuous mock admiration of others, have been dignified with the title of Bucks. And this, indeed, as well in that smaller circle which falls more immediately under my observation, as in the more enlarged society of men; among whom, to a Buck who has the honour to serve his Majesty, a habit of swearing is an appendage as absolutely necessary as a cockade or a commission. And many a one there is among this order, who will sit down with equal ardour and self-complacency, to devise the cut of a coat, or the form of an execration. Nay, even the female sex have, to their no small credit, caught the happy contagion; and there is scarce a mercer's wife in the kingdom but has her innocent, unmeaning imprecations, her little oaths, 'softened into nonsense,' and, with squeaking treble, mincing blasphemy into odsbodikins, sliterkins, and such like, will swear you 'like a sucking dove, ay, an it were any nightingale.' That it is one of the accomplishments of boys—is more than sufficiently obvious, when there is scarce one, though he be but five years old, that does not lisp out the oaths he has heard drop from the mouths of his elders; while the happy parent congratulates himself on the early improvement of his offspring, and smiles to discover the promising seeds of manly wit in the sprightly

sallies of puerile execration. On which topic I remember to have heard an honest Hibernian divine, whose zeal for morality would sometimes hurry him a little beyond the limits of good grammar or good sense, in the height of declamation, declare that 'the little children, that could neither speak, nor walk, ran about the streets blaspheming.' Thus, then, through all ranks and stages of life, is swearing the very hinge of conversation. It is the conclusive supplement to argument, the apology for wit, the universal medium through which every thought is conveyed; and as to the violent passions, it is (to use the words of the poet) 'the very midwife of the mind,' and is equally serviceable in bringing forth the sensations of anger or kindness, hope or fear; the ecstacies of extravagant delight, or the agonies of comfortless despair. What mortal amongst us is there, that, when any misfortune comes on him unexpectedly, does not find himself wonderfully lightened of the load of his sorrow, by pouring out the abundance of his vexation in showers of curses on the author of his calamity? What gamester, who has reduced himself from opulence to beggary, by the intemperate indulgence of a mad infatuation, does not, after sitting down and venting his execrations for half an hour against his ill fortune and his folly, get up again greatly relieved by so happy an expedient? Since, then, the advantages arising from an early initiation into the practice of swearing must so evidently appear to every person, unprejudiced against it by notions (now, indeed, almost out of date) of religion and morality, I cannot but be surprised that no one has as yet attempted to reduce the system, and teach the theory of an art, the practical part of which is so universally known and adopted. An undertaking of this kind could not surely fail of success, especially in an age like this, when at-

tempts of a much more arduous nature are every day presented to our notice; when pigs are brought up to exercise all the functions of rationality, and Hibernians profess to teach the true pronunciation of the English tongue.

"It is not so far removed, but that some of my readers must recollect the time when the noble art of boxing was, by the ever-memorable Figg and Broughton, reduced to a complete and perfect system; and the nobility and gentry were taught theoretically, as well as practically, to bruise the bodies, and (to use a technical term) *darken the daylights* of each other, with the figure of an Hercules tempered with the face of an Apollo. And it is but a little time since a celebrated foreigner actually instructed some persons of no inconsiderable rank of both sexes in the art of eating soup with ease and dexterity, though, to my humble opinion, few people could need a preceptor to show them the way to their mouths. Of much more utility, and surely not less successful, would be the plan I recommend. Many there were who, from tenderness of age, or delicacy of constitution, were precluded from the diversion of boxing—to many, the science of soup-eating was useless and impracticable, merely from having none to eat;—but all have their oaths in their own power, and of them neither emptiness of pocket, nor corporeal or mental imbecility, prevent the free and uncontrolled use; and almost every body, however niggardly he may be in parting with any other of his possessions, scatters them with a most liberal profusion. Thus, then, if fostered by the hand of a skilful linguist, this science might, perhaps, in time, come nearer than any other to realise the extravagant idea of the ingenious but romantic Bishop Wilkins, of a universal language. At present, indeed, there are some slight inconveniences

attending the project; among which no small one is, that, according to their present general usage, oaths, like Yorick's French friseur, by expressing too much, generally mean nothing; insomuch, that I now make it a rule to lessen my belief to any assertion, in proportion to the number of needless corroborative oaths by which it is supported. Nor am I, indeed, unreasonable in this;—and in most cases how can I do otherwise? Is it in human nature to suppose, that when one of my friends declares his joy at seeing me, and his kind concern for my health, by intimating a hearty wish of his eternal perdition, that he really means what he says? It has been observed by some ancient philosopher, or poet, or moralist (no matter which,) that nothing can be more pernicious to mankind, than the fulfilling of their own wishes. And, in truth, I am inclined to be of his opinion, for many a friend of mine—many a *fellow-citizen of this lesser world*, would, had his own heedless imprecations on himself taken effect, long ere this have groaned under the complication of almost every calamity capable of entering the human imagination. And, with regard to the world at large, were this to be the case, I doubt whether there would be at this present time a leg or a limb of any kind whole in his Majesty's service. So habitual, indeed, was this custom become to an officer of my acquaintance, that though he had lost one of his eyes in defence of his country, he could not forego his favourite execration, but still used to vent his curses on them both, with the same ease and indifference as when they were both in his possession; so blind was he rendered to his own defects, by the continued practice of this amusement; for in no other light than as an amusement, or polite accomplishment, can it be considered by those who practise it. Did they consider it as a vice, they could not, I am sure, persevere in the in-

dulgence of one which has not even the common excuse of having for its aim the pursuit of pleasure, or the gratification of a daily appetite. I cannot believe they would so disinterestedly d—n themselves, and vent, in public company, such imprecations as in darkness and solitude they would tremble to conceive.

"As an accomplishment, therefore, and as an agreeable indication of youthful gaiety, it must, no doubt, be considered; and, should any one take the hint here offered him, and commence instructor in this noble science, I need not, I believe, caution him against being an Englishman; or (should he have the misfortune to be born in this country) remind him of the easy transformation of our commonest home-spun names into the more fashionable French, or more musical Italian; as, for instance, that of Peter into Pedro; Nicholls into Nicolini; or Gerrard into Girardot, and so on. Having thus un-Englished himself, let him get his advertisement drawn up in the Grahamic* style, if not by the Doctor himself, professing, that—'Having added to the early advantages of a Billingsgate education, the deepest researches, and the most indefatigable industry, &c. &c., he now stands forth as an apt and accomplished teacher of the never-to-be-sufficiently extolled, the all-expressive, all-comprehensive, &c. &c. Art of Swearing. Ladies and gentlemen instructed in the most fashionable oaths; the most peculiarly adapted to their several ages, manners, and professions, &c. &c. He has now ready for the press, a book, entitled, *The Complete Oath Register, or*

* Graham, a celebrated quack of that period, to whom Canning refers in other productions. One of this charlatan's projects was an "earth bath," *i. e.* placing patients absolutely up to their necks in the ground. An hour or two spent in this way, he called a great renovator.

Every Man his Own Swearer; containing Oaths and Imprecations for all times, seasons, purposes, and occasions. Also, *Sentimental Oaths for the Ladies.* Likewise, *Execrations for the year* 1786.' Let him, I say, do this, and he may, I believe, assure himself of no little encouragement among the world at large; though far be it from me to presume to promise him any extraordinary countenance in that smaller circle which comes more immediately under the inspection of the Microcosmopolitan. B."

The bias of our hero, at this period, appears to have been for this species of elegant trifling; but a genius like his, was meant for better things. These were the recreations, not the pursuits, of his mind. He had drank too deeply of classic lore, to be satisfied with effusions of humour, or even of wit. The story of Greece—the remembrance of what she was—of what she had been—made a deep impression on his mind. That land, the altar at which every genius offers up devotion, was the subject of one of his earliest lays. It is a poetical effort, of which many of our established poets might be proud; and this was the production of a boy little more than fifteen years old.

Many mutilated copies of this poem have been circulated—the following will be found correct. The critical eye may discover many faults. The laborious simile with which it concludes, and the occasional elevation of words, rather than thoughts, are all the errors of a young intellect; but the very errors of Canning gave promise of excellence. They were the errors of exuberant fancy —of a too fruitful mind—his faults were preferable to the beauties of many. And this poem serves to awaken a regret, that his political career robbed us of such a

poet as he might have been. When we gained a great judge in Mansfield, it was justly said—

"How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost;"

and with as much justice may we say, that in Canning we might have found an English Horace, if not a Homer.

"THE SLAVERY OF GREECE.

"Unrivall'd Greece! thou ever-honour'd name,
Thou nurse of heroes dear to deathless fame!
Tho' now to worth, to honour all unknown,
Thy lustre faded, and thy glories flown,
Yet still shall memory with reverted eye,
Trace thy past worth, and view thee with a sigh.

"Thee Freedom cherish'd once with fostering hand,
And breathed undaunted valour through the land,
Here the stern spirit of the Spartan soil,
The child of poverty, inured to toil.

"Here, loved by Pallas and the sacred nine,
Once did fair Athens' tow'ry glories shine.
To bend the bow, or the bright falchion wield,
To lift the bulwark of the brazen shield,
To toss the terror of the whizzing spear,
The conqu'ring standard's glitt'ring glories rear,
And join the madd'ning battle's loud career,
How skill'd the Greeks; confess what Persians slain
Were strew'd on Marathon's ensanguined plain;
When heaps on heaps the routed squadrons fell,
And with their gaudy myriads peopled hell.
What millions bold Leonidas withstood,
And seal'd the Grecian freedom with his blood;
Witness Thermopylæ! how fierce he trod,
How spoke a hero, and how moved a god.
The rush of nations could alone sustain,
While half the ravaged globe was arm'd in vain.
Let Leuctra say, let Mantinea tell,
How great Epaminondas fought and fell!

"Nor War's vast art alone adorn'd thy fame,
'But mild Philosophy endear'd thy name.'
Who knows not, sees not with admiring eye,
How Plato thought, how Socrates could die?

"To bend the arch, to bid the column rise,
And the tall pile aspiring pierce the skies,
The awful fane magnificently great,
With pictured pomp to grace, and sculptured state,
This science taught; on Greece each science shone,
Here the bold statue started from the stone;
Here warm with life the swelling canvass glow'd;
Here big with thought the poet's raptures flow'd:
Here Homer's lip was touch'd with sacred fire,
And wanton Sappho tuned her amorous lyre;
Here bold Tyrtæus roused the enervate throng,
Awaked to glory by th' aspiring song;
Here, Pindar soar'd a nobler, loftier way,
And brave Alcæus scorn'd a tyrant's sway;
Here gorgeous Tragedy with great control
Touch'd every feeling of th' impassion'd soul;
While in soft measure, tripping to the song,
Her comic sister lightly danced along.—

"This was thy state! but oh! how changed thy fame,
And all thy glories fading into shame.
What? that thy bold, thy freedom-breathing land,
Should crouch beneath a tyrant's stern command!
That servitude should bind in galling chain,
Whom Asia's millions once opposed in vain;
Who could have thought? who sees without a groan,
Thy cities mouldering, and thy walls o'erthrown.
That where once tower'd the stately solemn fane,
Now moss-grown ruins strew the ravaged plain,
And, unobserved but by the traveller's eye,
Proud vaulted domes in fretted fragments lie;
And the fall'n column on the dusty ground,
Pale ivy throws its sluggish arms around.

"Thy sons (sad change!) in abject bondage sigh;
Unpitied toil, and unlamented die.
Groan at the labours of the galling oar,
Or the dark caverns of the mine explore.

The glitt'ring tyranny of Othman's sons,
The pomp of horror which surrounds their thrones,
Has awed their servile spirits into fear,
Spurn'd by the foot they tremble and revere.

"The day of labour, night's sad sleepless hour,
Th' inflictive scourge of arbitrary power,
The bloody terror of the pointed steel,
The murd'rous stake, the agonising wheel,
And (dreadful choice) the bowstring or the bowl,
Damps their faint vigour, and unmans the soul.

"Disastrous fate! still tears will fill the eye,
Still recollection prompt the mournful sigh;
When to the mind recurs thy former fame,
And all the horrors of thy present shame.

"So some tall rock, whose bare, broad bosom high
Tow'rs from the earth, and braves th' inclement sky;
On whose vast top the black'ning deluge pours,
At whose wide base the thund'ring ocean roars;
In conscious pride its huge gigantic form
Surveys imperious and defies the storm.
Till worn by age, and mould'ring to decay,
Th' insidious waters wash its base away,—
It falls, and falling cleaves the trembling ground,
And spreads a tempest of destruction round."

These extracts are not merely given because they are the productions of Mr. Canning, for their merits entitle them to preservation.

It was about this time that the rumour of a connexion formed by our hero occasioned some uneasiness to his friends and pastor. The tale is one of the many told of young men, and, indeed, is founded on one of those occurrences common to every man's existence. Affairs of the heart, as they are facetiously called, but more properly affairs of the fancy, are generally wrapped in mystery;—young hearts are prone to keep *these* secrets, at least, inviolate. The companions of our hero were not

likely *to know* any thing which he was anxious to conceal; and, at best, the tales are *founded* on fact, but supplied by surmise. These sort of things get a currency in society, from our proneness to remember tales, rather than their authors, and receive all relations as facts, without inquiring for authorities. The story, which has been bandied about society of our hero, is, that when sixteen he saw a lady at Eton, or in its vicinity, who was under the protection of a nobleman; that our hero divulged his passion, and was graciously received, but that the suspicious care of the lady's *guardian* rendered approach hazardous and difficult. The excitement of passion was sufficient to make young Canning brave all difficulties; and, if the tales of his scaling walls, ascending windows, &c. are to be believed, he rivalled the most chivalrous amongst Spanish or Italian lovers. Some of his earliest poetry was, it is said, inspired by this lady. The sequel of the tale is at hand. After the fondest and warmest professions, and adducing proofs of affection that appeared unequivocal, the lady was discovered, by our hero, under circumstances humiliating to both,—for his rival was of no higher station than a menial; this was followed by an exposure, on the lady's part, of some verses addressed to her by her Etonian lover. On this, Canning is said to have sworn never more to prostitute the muses to the service of ungrateful woman, and to have destroyed all his amatory effusions.

This story has been mentioned here as table-talk of the day; it would be difficult to prove its authenticity, and quite or more difficult to effect its refutation. It numbers with the follies of boyhood, if it be true, and it is very immaterial, if false. Nor would it have been alluded to here, but that any suppression involves a sus-

picion of undue partiality, and Canning's character wants no adventitious aid.

This affair, if it existed, had evidently very little effect upon the spirits of our hero, for we find him giving vent to his raillery and humour in the following effusion, at this period. Of the following paper there have been many imitations, but as a lively satire upon reviews in general, this is as excellent as it is original.

CRITIQUE AND REVIEW ON "THE REFORMATION OF THE KNAVE OF HEARTS."

"It has hitherto been customary for all periodical writers to take some opportunity, in the course of their labours, to display their critical abilities, either by making observations on some popular author, and work of known character, or by bringing forth the performances of hidden merit, and throwing light on genius in obscurity. To the critiques of the "Spectator," Shakspeare and more particularly Milton are indebted for no inconsiderable share of the reputation which they now so universally enjoy; and by his means were the ruder graces and more simple beauties of "Chevy Chace" held up to the public view, and recommended to general admiration.

"I should probably be accused of swerving from the imitation of so great an example, were not I to take occasion to show that I too am not entirely destitute of abilities of this kind; but that by possessing a decent share of critical discernment, and critical jargon, I am capable of becoming a very tolerable commentator. For the proof of which, I shall rather prefer calling the attention of my readers to an object, as yet untreated of by any of my immediate predecessors, than venture to

throw in my observations on any work which has before passed the ordeal of frequent examination. And this I shall do for two reasons; partly, because were I to choose a field, how fertile soever, of which many others had before me been reaping the fruits, mine would be at best but the gleanings of criticism; and partly from a more interested view, from a selfish desire of accumulated praise; since, by making a work, as yet almost wholly unknown, the subject of my consideration, I shall acquire the reputation of taste, as well as judgment; of judiciousness in selection, as well as justness in observation; —of propriety in choosing the object, as well as skill in using the language, of commentary.

"The epic poem on which I shall ground my present critique has, for its chief characteristics, brevity and simplicity. The author, whose name I lament that I am, in some degree, prevented from consecrating to immortal fame, by not knowing what it is—the author, I say, has not branched his poem into excrescences of episode, or prolixities of digression; it is neither variegated with diversity of unmeaning similitudes, nor glared with the varnish of unnatural metaphor. The whole is plain and uniform; so much so, indeed, that I should hardly be surprised if some morose readers were to conjecture, that the poet had been thus simple rather from necessity than choice; that he had been restrained not so much by chastity of judgment, as sterility of imagination.

"Nay, some there may be, perhaps, who will dispute his claim to the title of an epic poet, and will endeavour to degrade him even to the rank of a ballad-monger. But I, as his commentator, will contend for the dignity of my author; and will plainly demonstrate his poem to be an epic poem, agreeable to the example of all poets, and the consent of all critics heretofore.

"First, it is universally agreed, that an epic poem should have three component parts; a beginning, a middle, and an end; secondly, it is allowed, that it should have one grand action, or main design, to the forwarding of which all the parts of it should directly or indirectly tend; and that this design should be in some measure consonant with, and conducive to, the purposes of morality;—and thirdly, it is indisputably settled, that it should have a hero. I trust that in none of these points the poem before us will be found deficient. There are other inferior properties, which I shall consider in due order.

"Not to keep my readers longer in suspense, the subject of the poem is, 'The Reformation of the Knave of Hearts.' It is not improbable that some may object to me, that a knave is an unworthy hero for an epic poem; that a hero ought to be all that is great and good. The objection is frivolous. The greatest work of this kind that the world ever produced, has 'the devil' for its hero; and, supported as my author is by so great a precedent, I contend, that his hero is a very decent hero; and especially as he has the advantage of Milton's, by reforming at the end, is evidently entitled to a competent share of celebrity.

"I shall now proceed to the more immediate examination of the poem in its different parts. The beginning, say the critics, ought to be plain and simple; neither embellished with the flowers of poetry, nor turgid with pomposity of diction. In this how exactly does our author conform to the established opinion! He begins thus—

'The queen of hearts
She made some tarts.

Can any thing be more clear! more natural! more agree-

able to the true spirit of simplicity! Here are no tropes, no figurative expressions, not even so much as an invocation to the muse. He does not detain his readers by any needless circumlocution; by unnecessarily informing them what he is going to sing, or still more unnecessarily enumerating what he is not going to sing: but, according to the precepts of Horace –

'In medias res,
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit——'

That is, he at once introduces us, and sets us on the most easy and familiar footing imaginable, with her majesty of hearts, and interests us deeply in her domestic concerns. But to proceed,

'The queen of hearts
She made some tarts,
All on a summer's day.'

"Here, indeed, the prospect brightens, and we are led to expect some liveliness of imagery, some warmth of poetical colouring; but here is no such thing. There is no task more difficult to a poet than rejection. Ovid among the ancients, and Dryden among the moderns, were perhaps the most remarkable for the want of it. The latter, from the haste in which he generally produced his compositions, seldom paid much attention to the "limæ labor," the labour of correction, and seldom therefore rejected the assistance of any idea that presented itself. Ovid, not content with catching the leading features of any scene or character, indulged himself in a thousand minutiæ of description, a thousand puerile prettinesses, which were in themselves uninteresting, and took off greatly from the effect of the whole; as the numberless suckers, and straggling branches of a fruit-tree, if permitted to shoot out unrestrained, while they are themselves barren and useless, diminish considerably the

vigour of the parent stock. Ovid had more genius but less judgment than Virgil; Dryden more imagination, but less correctness than Pope; had they not been deficient in these points, the former would certainly have equalled, the latter infinitely outshone the merits of his countryman. Our author was undoubtedly possessed of that power which they wanted; and was cautious not to indulge too far the sallies of a lively imagination.—Omitting therefore any mention of sultry Syrius—sylvan shade—sequestered glade—verdant hills—purling rills—mossy mountains—gurgling fountains, &c. &c. he simply tells us that it was 'All on a summer's day.' For my own part, I confess that I find myself rather flattered than disappointed; and consider the poet as rather paying a compliment to the abilities of his readers, than baulking their expectations. It is certainly a great pleasure to see a picture well painted; but it is a much greater to paint it well one's-self. This, therefore, I look upon as a stroke of excellent management in the poet.—Here every reader is at liberty to gratify his own taste; to design for himself just what sort of 'summer's day' he likes best; to choose his own scenery; dispose his lights and shades as he pleases; to solace himself with a rivulet or horse-pond, a shower or a sun-beam, a grove or a kitchen-garden, according to his fancy. How much more considerate this, than if the poet had, from an affected accuracy of description, thrown us into an unmannerly perspiration by the heat of the atmosphere; forced us into a landscape of his own planning, with perhaps a paltry, good-for-nothing zephyr or two, and a limited quantity of wood and water. All this, Ovid would undoubtedly have done. Nay, to use the expression of a learned brother commentator, 'quovis pignore dicertem,' 'I would lay any wager' that he would have

gone so far as to tell us what the tarts were made of; and perhaps wandered into an episode on the art of preserving cherries. But our poet, above such considerations, leaves every reader to choose his own ingredients, and sweeten them to his own liking; wisely foreseeing, no doubt, that the more palatable each had rendered them to his own taste, the more he would be affected at their approaching loss.

'All on a summer's day.'

"I cannot leave this line without remarking, that one of the Scribleri, a descendant of the famous Martinus, has expressed his suspicions of the text being corrupted here, and proposes, instead of 'All on,' reading 'Alone,' alleging, in favour of this alteration, the effect of solitude in raising the passions. But Hiccius Doctius, a high Dutch commentator, one nevertheless well versed in British literature, in a note of his usual length and learning, has confuted the arguments of Scriblerus. In support of the present reading, he quotes a passage from a poem written about the same period with our author's, by the celebrated Johannes Pastor,* entitled, 'An Elegiac Epistle to the Turnkey of Newgate,' wherein the gentleman declares, that, rather indeed in compliance with an old custom, than to gratify any particular wish of his own, he is going

'——— All hanged for to be,
Upon that fatal Tyburn tree.'

"Now, as nothing throws greater light on an author than the concurrence of a cotemporary writer, I am in-

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"* More commonly known, I believe, by the name of Jack Shepherd.

clined to be of Hierocles's opinion, and to consider the "All" as an elegant expletive, or, as he more aptly phrases it, "elegans expletivum." The passage, therefore, must stand thus:—

'The queen of hearts
She made some tarts,
All on a summer's day.'

"And thus ends the first part, or beginning, which is simple and unembellished; opens the subject in a natural and easy manner; excites, but does not too far gratify our curiosity: for a reader of accurate observation may easily discover, that the hero of the poem has not yet made his appearance.

"I could not continue my examination at present through the whole of this poem, without far exceeding the limits of a single paper. I have therefore divided it into two.

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* * * * * * *

"The second part, or middle, is the proper place for bustle and business, for incident and adventure.

'The knave of hearts
He stole those tarts.'

"Here attention is awakened; and our whole souls are intent upon the first appearance of the hero. Some readers may perhaps be offended at his making his *entré* in so disadvantageous a character as that of a thief. To this I plead precedent.

"The hero of the Iliad, as I observed in a former paper, is made to lament very pathetically, that 'life is not like all other possessions, to be acquired by theft.' A reflection, in my opinion, evidently showing, that if he did refrain from the practice of this ingenious art, it was

not for want of an inclination that way. We may remember, too, that in Virgil's poem, almost the first light in which the pious Æneas appears to us, is a deer-stealer; nor is it much excuse for him, that the deer were wandering without keepers; for however he might, from this circumstance, have been unable to ascertain whose property they were, he might, I think, have been pretty well assured that they were not his.

"Having thus acquitted our hero of misconduct, by the example of his betters, I proceed to what I think the master-stroke of the poet.

'The knave of hearts
He stole those tarts,
And—took them—quite away—!!'

"Here, whoever has an ear for harmony, and a heart for feeling, must be touched! There is a desponding melancholy in the run of the last line! an air of tender regret in the addition of 'quite away!' a something so expressive of irrevocable loss! so forcibly intimating the '*Ah, nunquam reditura!*' 'They never can return!' —in short, such a union of sound and sense, as we rarely, if ever, meet with in any author, ancient or modern. Our feelings are all alive; but the poet, wisely dreading that our sympathy with the injured queen might alienate our affections from his hero, contrives immediately to awaken our fears for him, by telling us that

'The king of hearts
Call'd for those tarts.'

"We are all conscious of the fault of our hero, and all tremble with him, for the punishment which the enraged monarch may inflict.

'And beat the knave full sore!'

"The fatal blow is struck! we cannot but rejoice that

guilt is justly punished, though we sympathise with the guilty object of punishment. Here Scriblerus, who, by the bye, is very fond of making unnecessary alterations, proposes reading 'score' instead of 'sore,' meaning thereby to particularise, that the beating bestowed by this monarch consisted of twenty stripes. But this proceeds from his ignorance of the genius of our language, which does not admit of such an expression as 'full score,' but would require the insertion of the particle 'a,' which cannot be, on account of the metre. And this is another great artifice of the poet: by leaving the quantity of beating indeterminate, he gives every reader the liberty to administer it, in exact proportion to the sum of indignation which he may have conceived against his hero; that, by thus amply satisfying their resentment, they may be the more easily reconciled to him afterward.

'The king of hearts
Call'd for those tarts,
And beat the knave full sore!'

"Here ends the second part, or middle of the poem; in which we see the character and exploits of the hero portrayed with the hand of a master.

"Nothing now remains to be examined, but the third part, or end. In the end, it is a rule pretty well established, that the work should draw towards a conclusion, which our author manages thus:

'The knave of hearts
Brought back those tarts.'

"Here every thing is at length settled; the theft is compensated; the tarts restored to their right owner; and poetical justice, in every respect, strictly and impartially administered.

"We may observe, that there is nothing in which our

poet has better succeeded, than in keeping up an unremitted attention in his readers to the main instruments, the machinery of his poem, *viz.* the tarts; insomuch, that the aforementioned Scriblerus has sagely observed, that 'he can't tell, but he doesn't know, but the tarts may be reckoned the heroes of the poem.' Scriblerus, though a man of learning, and frequently right in his opinion, has here certainly hazarded a rash conjecture. His arguments are overthrown entirely by his great opponent, Hiccius, who concludes, by triumphantly asking, 'had the tarts been eaten, how could the poet have compensated for the loss of his heroes?'

"We are now come to the *denouement*, the setting all to rights: and our poet, in the management of his moral, is certainly superior to his great ancient predecessors. The moral of their fables, if any they have, is so interwoven with the main body of their work, that, in endeavouring to unravel it, we should tear the whole. Our author has very properly preserved his, whole and entire, for the end of his poem, where he completes his main design, the reformation of his hero, thus,—

'And vow'd he'd steal no more.'

"Having, in the course of his work, shown the bad effects arising from theft, he evidently means this last moral reflection to operate with his readers as a gentle and polite dissuasive from stealing.

'The knave of hearts
Brought back those tarts,
And vow'd he'd steal no more!'

"Thus have I industriously gone through the several parts of this wonderful work; and clearly proved it, in every one of these parts, and in all of them together, to be a due and proper epic poem; and to have as good a

right to that title, from its adherence to prescribed rules, as any of the celebrated masterpieces of antiquity. And here I cannot help again lamenting, that, by not knowing the name of the author, I am unable to twine our laurels together, and to transmit to posterity the mingled praises of genius and judgment; of the poet, and his commentator. B."

How the days of George Canning were spent, may be ascertained by his after-life. All knowledge is matter of tedious acquisition. It has been truly and laconically said, "there is no royal road to Greek." The young student was not content with the Classics, in the ordinary acceptation of that term, but amused his leisure hours with the more recondite Greek and Latin authors. Study was his amusement—composition, his recreation. It was a favourite maxim of our hero's, in after-life, that variety was rest to the mind. When wearied by classical research, he wrote, or turned to lighter reading; but he never sank into lassitude. In fact, he could not be idle—his mind was the very essence of perpetual motion, and knew no rest. It has usually occurred with those scholars that excelled in poetic fancy, that they have become studious only with regard to those authors and subjects that suited the peculiar bent of their genius; but our hero was a *profound* classic, and did not suffer his love of the muses to draw him from severer study. Unlike those who boast a genius like his for poetry, he could analyse minutiæ as easily as he could grasp generalities—he saw all things with the telescope of truth—it was in vain that distance obscured them—he brought them to his eye, and saw all their lineaments with the glance of power. With one more of his lighter productions, we shall close our extracts from his juvenile efforts.

This essay, which, for lively wit and imaginative tact, is almost unequalled, is from the twenty-second number of *The Microcosm*.

"POETRY AND WEAVING—THE ANALOGY BETWEEN THEM.

"There are in Turkey a body of men, against whom universal contempt is indiscriminately, as well as undeservedly, directed, and these are the worshipful company of grocers. Insomuch, that should any member of a noble family have disgraced himself and his connexions by living a life of tranquillity, or, what is worse, dying in his bed—that is, a natural death—his name is never pronounced by his relations, but with disapprobation and disgust; and his memory is consigned to infamy, for having, as they say, lived and died like a *raccal*, or grocer.

"The person who has now the honour to address you is a member of a community, who, by the courtesy of England, are, like the raccals of Turkey, collectively involved in the most comprehensive contempt,—I say collectively, sir, because, individually, we are allowed to have no existence; the wicked waggery of the world judging nine weavers and nine tailors requisite to the formation of a man. Yes, sir, to so high a pitch have they carried the disrepect in which these professions are held, that, in the eyes of 'the many,' (as the poet calls them,) to address a man by the appellation either of a weaver or tailor, implies not only, as formerly, a reflection on his horsemanship, but on his personal courage, and even his personal existence.

"I, sir, am a weaver; I feel for the injured dignity of my profession: and since (thanks to my own genius, and two years and a half of education on Tower-hill) I have a very decent acquaintance with the classics—that is, I

know them all by name, and can tell Greek, when I see it, any day in the week; and since, as far as Shakespeare and the monthly Magazines go, I have a very pretty share of English book-learning:—from these considerations, Mr. Griffin, I think myself qualified to contend, not for the utility and respectability only, but for the honour of the art of weaving. Tailoring, as it is secondary to weaving, will, of course, partake of the fruits of my labours; as, in asserting the dignity of the one, I maintain the credit of the other.

"To this end, Mr. Griffin, I shall not appeal to the candour of my readers; but shall provoke their judgment. I shall not solicit their indulgence; but, by the force of demonstration, will claim their assent to my opinion.

"Poetry, sir, is universally allowed to be the first and noblest of the arts and sciences; insomuch, that it is the opinion of critics, that an epic poem is the greatest work the human mind is capable of bringing to perfection. If, then, I can prove that the art of weaving is, in any degree, analogous to the art of poetry; if this analogy has been allowed by the whole tribe of critics, so far, that in speaking of the latter they have used the terms of the former, and passed judgment on the works of the poet in the language of the manufacturer; nay, if Poetry herself has condescended to imitate the expressions, and to adopt the technical terms into her own vocabulary; then may I surely hope, that the sanction of criticism may challenge the respect, and the flattery of poetry (for imitation is the highest degree of flattery) may claim the admiration, of mankind.

"First, then, with regard to criticism; to select a few examples from a multitude of others, are we not entertained, in the works of Longinus and the *Gentleman's*

Magazine, with delectable dissertations on the weaving of plots and the interweaving of episodes? Are we not continually informed, that the author unravels the web of his intrigue, or breaks the thread of his narration? Besides these, a friend of mine, a great etymologist, has assured me, that *bombast* and *bombasin* originally sprung from the same root; and *fustian*, every body knows, is a term applied indifferently to passages in poetry, or materials for a pair of breeches. So similar is considered the skill employed in the texture of the epic poem and a piece of broad cloth; so parallel the qualifications requisite to throw the shuttle and guide the pen.

"I was not a little pleased the other day to find, in the critique of one of the most eminent writers of the present day, the works of a favourite poet styled '*a tissue*.' An idea then occurred to me, suggested perhaps by my partiality for my profession, which I am not without some faint hope of one day seeing accomplished.

"By a little labour and ingenuity, it might surely be discovered, that the works of different authors bear a considerable affinity (like this of the tissue) to the different productions of the loom. Thus, to enumerate a few instances, without any regard to chronological order,—might not the flowery smoothness of Pope be aptly enough compared to flowered satin?—Might not the compositions of all the poets laureate, ancient and modern, very properly be termed *princes-stuff?* And who would dispute the title of Homer, to *everlasting!* For Shakespeare, indeed, I am at a loss for a comparison, unless I should liken him to those shot silks which vary the brightness of their hues into a multitude of different lights and shades. And, would orthography allow of the pun, I might say, that there are few poets but would be proud to be thought worthy of the green *bays*.

"For proof of the use which poetry makes of the weaver's dictionary, *vide* ten thousand Odes on Spring; where you may catch the fragrance of the damask rose; listen to the rustling of the silken foliage; or lie extended with a listless languor, pillowing your head upon the velvet mead; to say nothing of Nature's loom, which is set to work regularly on the first of May, to weave variegated carpets for the lawns and landscapes. Now, Mr. Griffin, those similitudes, though very pretty and very *à propos*, I own I am not perfectly satisfied with. The Genoese certainly excel us in the articles of velvets, and the French silks are by many persons far preferred for elegance to any of the English manufacture. I appeal then to you, Mr. Griffin, if these allusions would not be much more delightful to British ears, if they tended to promote such manufactures as are more peculiarly our own. The Georgics of Virgil, let me tell you, sir, have been suspected by some people to have been written with a political, as well as poetical view; for the purpose of converting the victorious spirits of the Roman soldiery, from the love of war and the severity of military hardships, to the milder occupations of peace, and the more profitable employments of agriculture. Surely, equally successful would be the endeavours of our poets, if they would boldly extirpate from their writings every species of foreign manufacture, and adopt, in their stead, materials from the prolific looms of their countrymen. Surely, we have a variety which would suit all subjects and all descriptions:—nor do I despair, if this letter has the desired effect, but I shall presently see landscapes beautifully diversified with (all due deference being paid to alteration) plains of plush, pastures of poplin, downs of dimity, valleys of velveret, and meadows of Manchester. How gloriously novel would this

be! how patriotically poetical an innovation! which nothing but bigoted prejudice could object to—nothing but disaffection to the interests of the country could disapprove. B."

At the age of eighteen, our hero left Eton, and went to Christ Church, Oxford; there he became acquainted with the honourable Mr. Jenkinson, (the present earl of Liverpool); from their intimacy they were nicknamed "the inseparables." With Mr. Jenkinson and others, Mr. Canning pursued his studies, enlivening the scene by the enjoyment of "Attic Evenings," in which, as, indeed, throughout his life, he was remarkable for teaching himself, and others—

"That honourable stop
Not to outsport discretion.—"

At Oxford, Mr. Canning soon outstripped his competitors; he gained several prizes, and delivered several orations that extracted warm eulogies from those who were most

"Tardy in praising, anxious to condemn."

Jeremy Bentham, the celebrated political writer, has afforded us an undeniable illustration of the high expectations formed of the young orator at this period. Canning was introduced to that singular man about 1790, at College, by the first marquis of Lansdowne, (the father of the present marquis.) "Whoever may live to see it," said that nobleman, "that young man will one day be prime minister." Thirty-six years afterwards, Bentham found the prediction verified. What the talents must have been that should create such an impression on a politician's mind, at such an age, it is easier to conceive than describe.

Young Canning had opportunities of mixing with the literati of the day, for his college vacations were passed under the roof of no less a personage than Richard Brinsley Sheridan, to whose family, Mrs. Canning, our hero's mother, was related. Sheridan was then the idol of the town—the companion of his prince—and in the zenith of his political and dramatic career. Many persons, speaking of Sheridan and Canning, have assumed that the former exerted a parental influence over the latter. Such was by no means the case in 1792, when they were daily together; they were more like brothers than aught else. Though Canning was then but just of age, he was matured in intellect,—always of a steady and thoughtful nature; whilst Sheridan, at the age of forty, (which he then was,) had all the volatility of a boy of sixteen. Sheridan had no pretence for assuming a dictatorship over Canning, nor did he ever attempt it; they were on an equality of talent, though not of years. It has been suggested, that our hero was indebted to the dramatist for his introduction to the marquis of Lansdowne; but the fact is, that at Sheridan's house he met with all the celebrated men of that period; and whoever met Canning once, was ever after anxious for a renewal of the acquaintance. With the whigs of the day, Mr. Canning was particularly intimate; as it was generally understood, or at least expected, that his talents would be given to that party.

Mr. Canning left College about 1792, and entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn; and many who have grown grey in the wearisome pursuit of equity research, well remember our hero taking his morning walks (for he was an early riser) in the gardens of that Inn; but, though studying for the bar, he had no serious intentions of passing his life in the dull routine of a law court,

or deadening the finer faculties of his mind over musty records.

At this period he was introduced by Sheridan to Fox and Burke; of the latter he was always a most enthusiastic admirer. The conversation of three such men as those with whom he now came in collision, might have inspired a less fervid nature; and the young student saw that his course was tracked through the path of politics, and that the bar was too narrow a field for his exertions. It was then, even more than at present, a fashion to take the sanction of an admission at Lincoln's Inn, or the Temple; and to be called to the bar, merely for form's sake, by those who had no intention of following the profession of the law. The present licenser of plays, George Colman, esq. and the celebrated poet, Thomas Moore, were both members of the Middle Temple.

Mr. Canning's change of politics has been spoken of by Moore, in his "Life of Sheridan." It is only necessary here to remark, that the word *change* is inapplicable to one who had then avowed no politics at all;—that his sentiments were inferred and surmised—not acknowledged; that he was judged by those he associated with,—by the acts of others,—by no speech of his own. Those who delight in recording or imagining the backslidings of politicians, anxiously pervert the slightest facts into grounds for the charge of political apostacy;—but from such a suspicion our hero was free. Thought is cradled by liberty, and it is rather too much to expect that any man should adopt another's opinions, because he exists beneath his roof—or square his opinions by his friendships and animosities. It was the accident of connexion that made Canning intimate with the celebrated oppositionists, but he never was politically intimate with them; in fact, he knew Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, as orators and wits, rather than as

politicians. His closest intimacy in early life was with the honourable Mr. Jenkinson, whose connexions were all tories; but Mr. Canning has been known to aver, that this did *not* influence him; for his intercourse with that gentleman was that of two young and ardent spirits—of friends who had other subjects of discussion than the affairs of the country. Mr. Jenkinson, it is generally understood, introduced our hero to Pitt; but that he, in no other way, influenced his opinions or course, Mr. Canning has himself avowed.

"From the political faith," says Mr. Moore "in which he had been educated, under the very eyes of Mr. Sheridan, who had long been the friend of his family, and at whose house he generally passed his college vacations, the line that he was to take in the House of Commons seemed already, according to the usual course of events, marked out for him. Mr. Sheridan had, indeed, with an eagerness which, however premature, showed the value which he and others set upon the alliance, taken occasion, in the course of a laudatory tribute to Mr. Jenkinson (now the earl of Liverpool,) on the success of his first effort in the House, to announce the accession which his own party was to receive in the talents of another gentleman—the companion and friend of the young orator who had now distinguished himself. Whether this and other friendships, formed by Mr. Canning at the University, had any share in alienating him from a political creed which he had hitherto perhaps adopted rather from habit and authority than choice;—or whether he was startled at the idea of appearing for the first time in the world as the announced pupil and friend of a person who, both by the vehemence of his politics and the irregularities of his life, had put himself, in some degree, under the ban of public opinion;—or whether, lastly, he saw the difficulties

which even genius like his would experience in rising to the full growth of its ambition, under the shadowy branches of the Whig Aristocracy, and that superseding influence of birth and connexions which had contributed to keep even such men as Burke and Sheridan out of the Cabinet;—which of these motives it was that now decided the choice of the young political Hercules between the two paths that equally wooed his footsteps, none, perhaps, but himself can fully determine. His decision, we know, was in favour of the minister and toryism; and, after a friendly and candid explanation to Mr. Sheridan, of the reasons and feelings that urged him to this step, he entered into terms with Mr. Pitt, and was by him immediately brought into Parliament. However dangerous it might be to exalt such an example into a precedent, it is questionable whether, in thus resolving to join the ascendant side, Mr. Canning has not conferred a greater benefit on the country, than he ever would have been able to effect in the ranks of his original friends. That party, which has now so long been the sole depositary of the power of the State, had, in addition to the original narrowness of its principles, contracted all that proud obstinacy in antiquated error, which is the invariable characteristic of such monopolies; and which, however consonant with its vocation, as the chosen instrument of the Crown, should have long since *invalided* it in the service of a free and enlightened people. Some infusion of the spirit of the times into this body had become necessary even for its preservation, in the same manner as the inhalement of youthful breath has been recommended by some physicians to the infirm and superannuated. This renovating inspiration the genius of Mr. Canning has supplied. His first political lessons were derived from sources too sacred to his young admiration to be for-

gotten. He has carried the spirit of these lessons with him into the councils which he joined, and by the vigour of the graft, which already, indeed, shows itself in the fruits, bids fair to change altogether the nature of toryism."

The business of life, that was now indeed commencing, had not deadened the quicksilver of his fancy; for, at this juncture, he amused his leisure hours (if, amid his avocations, he had any) by composing epigrams, &c. One *jeu d'esprit* of this period has recently got into circulation, and deserves commemoration, perhaps rather from its singularity than its merit. It is the province of genius to disprove the old axiom—*Ex nihilo nihil fit*—and Canning, in very early youth, evinced his powers by his very entertaining review of *The Knave of Hearts;* which appears too slender a thread to hang a thought upon. It seems, that a young lady gave our hero a piece of plush, for the formation of a pair of shooting unmentionables. This present, certainly not the most delicate or elegant, was given by the fair friend a few days previous to her marriage. Her lover we must presume to have been on terms of intimacy with our hero, from the familiarity of the following epistle, which he addressed to the lady, and placed on her table, on the morning of her marriage.

"When all, on this auspicious day,
Well pleased, their grateful homage pay,
And sweetly smile and softly say
A thousand pretty speeches,—
My Muse shall touch her tuneful strings,
Nor scorn the lay her duty brings,
Though humble be the theme she sings—
A pair of shooting-breeches.

Soon shall the tailor's mystic art
Have fashion'd them in every part,

And made them tight, and sprnce, and smart,
With twenty thousand stitches;
Then mark the moral of my song,
Oh, may your love but prove as strong,
And wear as well, and last as long,
As these my shooting-breeches!

And when, to ease this load of life,
I take unto myself a wife,
I ask not wealth or riches;
Temper, like thine, alone I pray,
Temper, like thine, serene and gay,
Inclined, like thine, to give away,
Not wear thyself the breeches."

Following the example of Burke, Canning tried his wings in some flights at a debating society in Old Bond-street. He had the courage to endure ridicule, if it assailed him; but, from his boyhood, he was too much an orator to fear any adversary putting him in a ludicrous light. Amongst the frequenters of this nursery for orators, was the notorious and talented Gale Jones; and, as we are informed by one who well remembers the society and its supporters, Mr. Canning often opposed that violent orator.

Sheridan, who had complimented Mr. Jenkinson on his maiden speech, and congratulated the house on the acquisition of Canning, is said to have terrified the young orator; and it has been, and still is, a question, whether Sheridan did not wish to neutralise his powers by anticipatory eulogy, rather than aggrandise or serve the object of his praise. Certain it is, that Mr. Canning came into parliament with no desire to display his eloquence; he shunned rather than sought occasions for its exercise, and made his maiden speech on a subject least of all calculated to call forth his powers.

It may be as well to take a slight review of the state of this country and of its parliament, at the time Mr. Can-

ning took his seat as member for Newport, (Isle of Wight,) in 1793.

The revolution in France had created a sensation throughout Europe; a moral earthquake—every land teemed as with a volcano; distrust grew from the prevalence of danger. The reckless and desperate, whom fortune could not lay lower, were anxious to carry the French desolation into Britain. These spent gamesters, who, having nothing to lose, must gain by any change, became daily more powerful. The principle of levelling was becoming practical, and the theory was in every mouth. No man felt secure; property ceased to be valuable, for it might in a moment be at the mercy of the multitude.

That such proceedings required to be checked, confronted, and punished, could not be denied; and government employed such measures as appeared to be the best calculated to correct this growing and threatening mischief. His Majesty's proclamation, and the vigilant attention of Ministers, checked its career. But though the arm of law is sufficiently strong to keep the open invader of the constitution in awe, it was not altogether enabled to sift out the secret arts which were working under ground, and by hidden approaches were undermining the fabric of public happiness. It became necessary therefore to aid the more unwieldy efforts of law in counteracting the operations of these secret enemies, by employing their own weapons against them; and as their hostilities were carried on by societies, clubs, and familiar publications suited to the meanest capacity, it became a public duty to establish associations, and prepare books to oppose them. Accordingly, an association was instituted at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand. This measure was first, we believe, suggested,

we know it was first entered upon, by a Mr. Reeves, for the avowed purpose of protecting liberty and property against the daring attempts of republicans and levellers, which instantly increased into a very numerous body of subscribers, among whom were many of the most wealthy persons and respectable characters in the kingdom. The merchants of London followed the example, and associations for the support of the constitution sprung up, not only in the different quarters of the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom. The King availed himself of the power he possessed by law to embody the militia, to convene parliament before the time to which it was prorogued, and to call upon the representative wisdom of the people for aid and council, in such an important crisis.

From the memorable 10th of August, when Louis the Sixteenth lost the poor remains of former power, to the period when he was about to lose his life, the interior government of France offered nothing to the view of mankind but scenes of atrocity and horror, that make humanity shudder in the recollection of them; but, though republican fanaticism might triumph in these proceedings, though it might delight in the murder of one sovereign, and applaud the menaces which were uttered against every other,—the wise, the good, and the humane of all countries, could not but execrate the conduct of the French government, and consider with horror the mischief it portended to surrounding nations. Visionary men, whose heated fancies can work up imaginary good from the blackest scenes of human distress,—or those who, ruined by their excesses, may hope to derive individual advantage from general confusion,—or mischievous spirits, who consider evil as their good,—could alone delight in the view of those pictures which

France presented to satisfy their frantic hopes, or their diabolic malignity.

France and Poland were dividing the attention of Europe. England was vitally affected by both; and, in 1793, Buonaparte was raising himself by imperceptible gradations; whilst the son of our monarch was also equipping for the field. Ministers were on the rack to repel attacks, which they knew were premeditated, though they knew not from whence the blow might come; they waited, as it were, for the thunderbolt, unconscious where it would fall, or from what cloud it might burst.

When parliament met on the 21st of January, 1794, it was expected that Canning would move the vote upon the King's speech:—such was not the case. The continuation of the war with France was the subject of discussion, but our hero was silent. The war which, as Lord Mansfield said, was "to restore an orderly government to France, and to overthrow those desperate men who had openly avowed their determination to revolutionize all Europe," would have been a noble subject for the young orator; but from some cause, which it is neither easy to develop or conceive, he let it pass. On the 31st of that month, he made his maiden speech. Mr. Pitt moved a grant to the king of Sardinia, of £200,000, to enable him to defend his own dominions. Fox opposed it. Mr. Canning had prudence and good sense enough not to elevate his effort above the subject; he spoke acutely and clearly. The subject called for no exercise of eloquence, and he did not attempt to throw away his powers in a useless display. His speech, however, was listened to with great attention, and awakened much interest; it satisfied his friends, for they knew his genius, and were now assured of his coolness and his prudence; whilst his

opponents argued from it, that they had a less powerful adversary than they had been led to imagine.

On the 16th of May, the subjects of Parliamentary Reform, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the means of suppressing seditious meetings, came casually before the House, on the consideration of a message sent by the King to the Commons, on the 12th. Mr. Canning's speech, in support of the ministerial party, is as remarkable for its force as its brevity. He said,

"If precedents be wanting, the occasion justifies the measure, which is clearly warranted by the report of the Committee.* Though Parliamentary Reform may be a proper subject of discussion, at a season of tranquillity, it is highly improper in times of war and popular agitation. I beg leave explicitly to declare, that, as I side with the Minister in my ideas on this subject, I should feel no repugnance in adopting his sentiments on any future occasion, when he may be pleased to express them, confident that they will be apposite to times and circumstances."

This speech excited some raillery, and Mr. Courtney noticed the readiness of Canning to adhere firmly to the Minister; and the laughter of the House seemed to prove that the Oppositionist had succeeded in throwing some ridicule, if not a stigma, on the young orator, but he was not provoked to retaliate.

It was known, that though Mr. Canning sat as an adherent of Pitt's, and a follower of that great statesman, yet Burke was the model on whom he had grounded his oratory. On Burke he looked with the eye of an enthusiast. We may here use the words of a celebrated writer, who has written ably on this subject, and who had

* This was a Committee of Secrecy, of twenty-one members.

the best means of information—a knowledge of all those of whom he spoke.

"Mr. Burke sat in parliament two years after Mr. Canning, in 1793, entered it. This was in the end a most fortunate circumstance for Mr. Canning, whose admiration of the philosophic orator was so great, as not only to lead, as we have said, to an identity of political views and opinions, but also to an assimilation of style and manner. The comparative failure of his first efforts in parliament may, therefore, be justly attributed to a too close imitation of the character of Mr. Burke's eloquence—the most dangerous that a man of Mr. Canning's fancy, playful wit, and Tullian taste, could well hit upon. It was Apollo learning graceful motion from Hercules. Burke addressed himself too much to the intellect of philosophers, and consequently valued too little the immediate effect of his exertions to be an effective debater. There was no fusing earnestness in his manner—no locality of feeling—no appearance of personal interest—therefore, his auditors were cold and unmoved. He spoke too like a man who, 'proudly eminent above the rest in the shape and gesture' of his intellect, felt that all mixture of fleshly feeling was a questioning of his dignity; and that the ordinary local interests and emotions of humanity were derogatory from the character of one who legislated for all times, and all places, and many people. This was evident in the ex-cathedra aristocratic tone of his voice, and in the fixed seeing-nothing-present stare of his eyes. Like Bossuet, '*Il semble que du sommet d'un lieu élevé, il decouvre des grands événémens qui se passent sous ses yeux, et qu'il les raconte à des hommes qui sont en bas.*' (Thomas Eloge.) His standard of perfection, therefore, was too indefinite and abstract, and the rewards of his ambition placed too

much in the applause and admiration of posterity, for him to be very anxious or successful in his efforts to conciliate his opponents, and win the suffrage of his contemporaries. Like Bacon, he knew he would be oftener misunderstood than mistaken; and that as it would take ages to ripen his fame, so it would take centuries to sound its depth, and was, therefore, indifferent about his temporary reputation. Besides, he confined himself too exclusively to *convince* by instructing, and thus *demand* support, to be a safe model of imitation in a popular assembly. Consequently, though no orator before or after him, or even in his own time, fruitful as it was in orators, at all approached him in the correctness and consistency of his application of sound general principles to questions of particular growth and interest; in the sustained tone of his philosophy, the practicability of his theories, and in the availableness of his various and profound knowledge, he was, *consideratis considerandis*, one of the most inefficient speakers in either house of parliament. In addition, no man was less regardful of the *amour propre* of others, though, from the natural vehemence of his temper, no man was more impatient of cavilling opposition. He was altogether a dangerous model to Mr. Canning; the more so, as he had neither Burke's dictatorial arrogance of tone and manner, nor the domineering influence of his genius; nor his knowledge, at once serious and profound, of the human heart, and of the productions of the human intellect—so essential to bear him out against the offended self-love, the prejudices, and the interests of his adversaries.—Mr. Canning had too much good sense, and regard for his own fame, not to soon abandon a course that probably would have ended only in the shipwreck of his reputation; he was

the more enabled to do this by the speedy termination of Mr. Burke's parliamentary and earthly labours, which we have alluded to.—Unbacked by family influence, as he was in early life, the task of *convincing*, by mere fact and argumentative sarcasm, his opponents of their errors, was perilous in the extreme; while that of insinuating himself into their confidence, by gracefully *persuading* them of the soundness of his own doctrines, and of obtaining their support, by exhibiting the defects of their opinions in the light of a playful, but at the same time unmalevolent wit, was that most likely to lead to power and distinction. The wisdom of his choice has been verified by experience. He became the leading Minister of Great Britain, while Mr. Burke, with superior endowments, and at least equal acquaintance with the machinery of government, never rose in office above his early post of private secretary to a lord lieutenant of Ireland."

Burke, who may be termed the British Demosthenes, always elevated his subject by his style; whilst Fox, Pitt, and Sheridan, were content to speak plainly and ordinarily on ordinary topics—each of them was a more useful, Burke the more fascinating orator.

Canning has recorded his admiration of Burke in a poem, which we shall insert in its proper place; but the commencement of which, from its brevity and aptitude, claims insertion here.

> "O thou!—lamented sage!—whose prescient scan
> Pierced through foul Anarchy's gigantic plan;
> Prompt t' incredulous hearers to disclose
> The guilt of France and Europe—world of woes!
> Thou, on whose name each distant age shall gaze,
> The mighty sea-mark of those troubled days!
> O, large of soul, of genius unconfined,
> Born to delight, instruct, and mend mankind!

Burke, in whose breast a Roman ardour glow'd!
Whose copious tone with Grecian richness flow'd,
Well hast thou found (if such thy country's doom)
A timely refuge in the sheltering tomb."

Some writers of the present day have roundly asserted that Mr. Canning spoke on all the leading topics, from the first essay in 1794, onwards. That this is not the fact, a reference to registers of the period will prove. Canning secured the favour of Pitt by proving that he could be silent. Almost any man, possessing one half the genius, the power, and opportunity he did, would have been desirous of display,—he would have asserted his fame by frequent exercises of his talent. Not so our hero; he was content to wait for his day. Nay, on some occasions, he seemed to assume a careless tone, as though he would lull his opponents into security, by concealing his power to destroy them. Injudicious friends may choose to assert that Mr. Canning bore down all before him at this period; but the fact is, he never attempted to do it, and must have failed had he tried. Mr. Canning was only one to "fill up the cry," and he would not draw upon his genius, till he felt assured that he could exert it with honour to himself, and to extend his own purposes, rather than aid the wishes of another. In some discussions, in which he opposed the present earl Grey, that nobleman had decidedly the advantage. It is not discreditable to Mr. Canning to record this; or, if it were, justice demands it. Biography must not be confounded with eulogy; and he who writes the memoir of a general, must speak of his battles, not his victories only.

The earl of Liverpool (Mr. Jenkinson) spoke oftener, and attracted more attention from the multitude than our hero; but *he* "kept the even tenor of his way," and

gained more upon the Minister by his silence, than others by their speech.

Mr Canning's speeches at this period are remarkable for brevity. He seems to have spoken only when obliged to do so, and then to have confined himself to as few words as possible.

The address on the King's speech at the opening of parliament, in 1795, was moved by sir Francis Knatchbull, and seconded by our hero. That session was rendered remarkable by Sheridan opposing the reading of the Outlawry Bill, which is, in fact, a mere form, to recognise the right of the Commons to enter upon any business they please, previous to the speech. Sheridan moved for the reading of the Bill for the repeal of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Canning did not enter into the controversy occasioned by this conduct; indeed, he wisely avoided collision with his quondam associate. The few words he used in seconding the motion, are clear and decided. He said—

"Though unfavourable circumstances have occurred abroad, they should not prevent the vigorous prosecution of war; they have been occasioned by the desertion of our allies, not the misconduct of our ministers. The fall of Robespierre, and the subsequent changes in the French government, do not warrant the country's attempting a treaty. The French divide their enemies into two classes, —the instigators of the coalition against them, and those who have joined it through compulsion. We are in the first class, the Dutch in the second. The treatment of the latter shows what we have to expect. A pacification with them at present, would bring so little security, that no diminution of our fleets and armies could take place; our expenses must remain as great as ever."

The close of 1795, and the commencement of the fol-

lowing year, were remarkable periods;—popular excitation was at its height. Mr. Canning, however, took no steps to gain mob popularity, and remained a silent, though not inattentive spectator.

Whilst France was distracted with internal divisions, England was agitated with disputes on the propriety of continuing a war which had caused such loss of men and treasure, without producing those effects which had been represented as infallible; every measure had been adopted, that appeared likely to lead to a successful result, to no purpose. Those who had most warmly espoused the cause of the Minister, thought that a sufficient trial of the schemes he had brought forward had been made, and that it would be wise to leave the re-establishment of the French monarchy to a future period.

The opposers of the war from its commencement accused ministers of a total want of foresight. The events of the war countenanced these reproaches; the public joined in them, and this opinion became so prevalent, that meetings were convened to petition the legislature for peace. The City first commenced, and in a Common Hall the voters for a petition amounted to 4000, and only 100 against it.

The petition stated, that the war had been carried on at a ruinous expense, without, in the smallest degree, attaining the object for which it was commenced; and it concluded by expressing a decided conviction, that the principle on which the war was carried on, was not essential to the glory or liberty of Great Britain. Addresses of a similar description were resolved on in several principal cities in the kingdom, whilst the ministerial party endeavoured to procure counter-petitions: but these were weak in comparison to the former.

Mercantile and trading classes were displeased that

minister proposed to permit the Dutch people to deposit their money and effects in England, without paying the customary duties. Had this not been the case, it is said, twenty millions of specie and other treasure would have been brought into this country. The reason ministers assigned was, that it would operate to discourage their countrymen, and prevent them from acting with vigour against the French.

Numerous considerations contributed to displease the people—murmurs and discontent abounded everywhere. It was no longer a simple disapprobation of the war—it was a fervent desire that it might terminate to the disadvantage of this country, and that the French might prevail against the English. They seemed unconscious of the event that must follow, should France succeed in her designs against England.

But the animosities produced by internal divisions had, in truth, taken such unhappy possession of most men, that those who thought to reconcile them to moderation, became equally odious to both parties. No medium was allowed. Whoever deplored the war, as pregnant with calamities that might have been avoided, was reputed a foe to his country;—whoever pronounced it just and necessary, was deemed a conspirator against its liberty, and an abettor of arbitrary power.

In this unfortunate disposition of mind the nation continued during the whole year 1795. The summer, in particular, was marked by a variety of tumults and riots. These were occasioned by the methods practised in the enlisting of men for the army. What with the general averseness of the common people to the war—what with the iniquity of the practice itself—those who were concerned in it, became such objects of execration to the multitude, that their persons and dwellings were equally

exposed to its resentment and fury. Several houses, either tenanted or made use of by those who are vulgarly known by the appellation of crimps, were demolished, or stripped of their furniture, and the owners put in danger of their lives. So great was the rage of the populace, that it was not without some difficulty those riots were suppressed by the soldiery. Several of those who had been active in these disturbances were executed; but the public highly disapproved of the condemnation to death of individuals, guilty of no other offence than giving way to a sudden impulse of indignation, at the violence offered to their fellow-subjects.

Such was the temper of the commonalty previous to the meeting of Parliament, about the close of October, 1795. A fermentation of the most alarming kind seemed to pervade the whole mass of the people. The various associations of individuals united for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, were at this period peculiarly noticed for their boldness and activity. That which was known by the name of the Corresponding Society, distinguished itself by the resolute speeches of its members, at the several meetings that took place in the course of the year. The one which was held near Copenhagen House, in the neighbourhood of Islington, was the most remarkable. The number that attended, either through zeal in the cause, or through curiosity, were computed at about fifty thousand. Some very daring addresses were made to the multitude. The conduct of ministers was arraigned in the most unqualified language; and a remonstrance to the King, on the necessity of peace, and a reform in Parliament, was universally agreed on.

The proceedings in these assemblies were highly offensive to ministers. As they consisted of individuals

void of all hope of rising by interest or favour, and who, to a man, were inimical to the measures of government, they condemned them with a freedom of speech that knew no bounds. Oftentimes, too, these meetings were attended by persons of parts, who seized those opportunities of venting their discontent at the system of the times, and of representing administration in the foulest colours, and imputing to them the most flagitious designs.

A report had been spread, that an immense number of discontented people had agreed to take this opportunity of manifesting their sentiments to the King in person. This, of course, excited the curiosity of the public; and the Park was crowded in a manner unprecedented since the King's accession to the throne. In his way to the House of Lords, which lay through the Park, his coach was surrounded on every side, by persons of all descriptions, demanding peace, and the dismission of Mr. Pitt. Some voices were even heard exclaiming, "No King!" and stones were thrown at the state-coach, as it drew near the Horse Guards. In passing through Palace Yard, one of the windows was broken, it was said, by a bullet, discharged from an air-gun. These outrages were repeated on the King's return from the House; and he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace in his way back from St. James's Palace to Buckingham House.

But, though Mr. Canning was silent amid all this, his progress was sure, nor did it remain unnoticed.* We find Mathias, in his "Pursuits of Literature," a satirical poem, saying,

"And seize on Pitt, like Canning, by surprise;"

* Bonaparte commenced his career of glory in October, 1795. These two great men may, therefore, fairly be said to have run their race together.

alluding to some rumour of the day, of our hero suddenly claiming something from the Minister. This poem, now scarce, contains some interesting notes and notices of many men who have since risen to eminence.

"Call Earle useful, Abernethy deep,"

is one line, to which is attached the following note:—

"Abernethy, a young surgeon, of an accurate and philosophical spirit of investigation, from whose genius and labours I am inclined to think that the medical art and natural science will receive great accessions."

We quote this as a proof of the acuteness of Mr. Mathias's observation; and the inference to be drawn from it is, that our hero had become an object of interest at least, or he would not have been deemed worthy of the notice thus accorded to him.

In this year, Mr. Canning received the appointment of Under Secretary of State. On the dissolution of Parliament, he was returned for the treasury borough of Windover.

He did little but reply to questions, or make brief explanations of the views of ministers, during that session; but, on the first of March, 1797, when the Slave Trade Bill came under discussion, he spoke eloquently. An extract from that speech will be sufficient.

"What is the case with the Slave Trade? Was it in its outset only that it had any thing of violence, of injustice, or of oppression? Were the wounds which Africa felt in the first conflict healed, or were they fresh and green, as at the moment when the first slave-ship began its ravages upon the coast? Were the oppressors and the oppressed so reconciled to each other, that no trace of enmity remained? Or was it in reason, or in common sense, to claim a prescriptive right, not to the fruits of

an ancient and forgotten crime, committed long ago, and traceable only in its consequences, but to a series of new violences—to a chain of fresh enormities—to cruelties not continued but repeated, and of which every individual instance inflicted a fresh calamity, and constituted a fresh, a separate, and substantive crime."

Upon this subject, it may be as well to say a few words. The unthinking eulogists of public and popular men are very fond of attributing the abolition of the Slave Trade to Mr. Canning and Mr. Wilberforce;—far be it from us to throw a stigma upon the dead, or sully the reputation of the living; but we are not blind to what has been, and what might have been done. Before we ask to whom we owe the abolition of the Slave Trade, there is one important question to be satified—Is THE SLAVE TRADE ABOLISHED? The cry of human misery, echoed and re-echoed by victim after victim, is our answer.—IT IS NOT. When it is, we shall be proud to record the name of him, who rose in the cause of natural liberty, and printed his own name imperishably in the annals of fame, when he removed the shackles from Africa for ever. It is not necessary to cross the Atlantic for assurances that the Slave Trade still exists in all its pristine depravity—that Smithfield is but the animal prototype of a market for human creatures, who are haltered and sold hourly by and to Europeans. It is scarcely possible to take up an American newspaper without finding advertisements of "Slaves who have strayed," with rewards for them, *dead* or *alive*. Does not our city of London teem with agreements recognising the Slave Trade, with bargains and sales of human beings?

Is it not revolting,—is it not horrible,—that that which we have long since banished, as too barbarous for a punishment here, should be employed as a medium of re-

cognition in another country, with the concurrence and by the desire of Englishmen? An attorney in considerable practice in the city of London, is in the habit of preparing agreements for the sale of humanity, and the following extract, from a clause in one of these documents of depravity, speaks volumes:—

"———————— agrees to sell to the said ———————— ten male negroes, named respectively * * * * * * * * * *, and marked (*i. e.* branded) B X on the arm."

It is effective and affecting to hear orators employing their eloquence in decrying the trade that they never take measures to prevent—to see men weeping for the sorrows they will not raise a sword to avenge. Fortune, health, peace, and domestic enjoyments, were laid down by thousands, when bigotry or fanaticism led men on to a crusade. Are there no crusaders for liberty? Are there no warriors to fight the cause of the afflicted, to attack the tyranny of action, as well as the tyranny of mind, and smite the murderer as readily as the unbeliever?

Fathers torn from their children, mothers from their babes, husbands from their wives, the lover from his mistress, have been and are the occurrences of every moment. What indignation swells in the bosom, what grief overwhelms the heart, at the desolation of one hearth in our native country! Could we behold one cottage levelled by the trespasser, one babe torn from the maternal breast, *and destroyed as useless*,—the mother forced during her madness, her agony, to gratify the passion of her child's murderer,—or perform wearisome tasks, too much even for the strength of the other sex, whilst her exertions are kept alive by the torture of the whip, and her cries prevented *by the application of a muzzle!* Could we see this, once, in our own country, would it not rouse every arm, and rend every heart? Would not our labourers take

the scythe and the sickle from the field, and with them mow down the destroyer? Would not all England combine with one voice of execration, nor rest till the perpetrators of the crime, their aiders and abettors, were exterminated from the face of creation? Our dramatists, our poets, and our orators, would fain persuade us that we feel for the sooty African as for a brother;—did our brother suffer thus, what should we do? Let us ask the question of our own hearts,—its throbbings give an answer, not loud but deep. Shame to our country, not individually, but collectively, we prate of pity, and preach abolition, whilst we permit oppression. We, indeed, make the unfortunate African free, when he sets his wearied foot upon our island; but what facilities do we afford him for coming here? It is to say to the drowning man, there is one plank in the ocean, at which, if you can arrive, you shall be saved, but we will not help you to reach it. What is the exemption of a small island, at the distance of thousands of miles, to the natives of a region, the greater part of whom never heard the name of the spot that is to grant them emancipation.

Deathless, indeed, will be the fame of him who removes the chains from the enslaved;—it is a path of glory yet untrod;—the fame of Leonidas will be less lasting than that of the man whose moral courage achieves this event.

Canning and Wilberforce deserve praise, as the advocates of African liberty, nothing more; in a case like this, it is not what men have attempted, but what they have accomplished; it is the reiterated effort, the ceaseless struggle, that commands an eulogy,—not the emanation of a momentary impulse; not a glowing speech, but a decided act; not the weak tear that is shed for griefs and wrongs, but the manly determination to avenge

them. Canning and Wilberforce have *done nothing* on this subject; what they have said, attracted notice at the period, but it should now be judged by its effect. Speeches could do little, in such a cause; it must be by the exertion of power, by those in whose hands power is vested. The traffickers in human blood are too far lost in the depths of depravity, to be conquered by aught but force. They should be made the mark for individual and collective punishment; they should wander like Cain, but without his safeguard; for whosoever met, should slay them. It would be well if the example were set; cruelty should not, say some, be repaid with cruelty. But desperate cases require signal measures. These dealers in men, these murderers of feeling, have become by their traffic mere brutes, and can only be taught through the medium of physical suffering. If the captain of one slave-ship (and his employers, if found,) was treated as the Russians use their pirates, *i. e.* spiked on an iron hook through the shoulder, and set on a raft out to sea, to expire of exhaustion and anguish on the element he has polluted by his dealings;—if one of these monsters were thus repaid for his life of cruelty,—more good would be done to the cause of emancipation, than by all the speeches that ever fell from the lips of Sheridan, Fox, Burke, or Canning.

Whilst on this subject, it is due to Mr. Canning to say, that, from his boyhood, he had been the strenuous advocate of Africa. The following poem was attributed to him, and published about 1793; it bears the mark of juvenility, but is distinguished by strong feeling. Mr. Canning never acknowledged it, and that would incline us to doubt the fact of his having been its author; for though not a polished production, it contains points wor-

thy of any poet. We insert it here, and leave it to a future period to decide its authenticity.

"THE SLAVE'S ADDRESS TO HIS WIFE.

"At the still hour of night, when my labour is o'er,
When sleep weighs my eyelids, enclosing a tear,
I wander with thee on my own native shore;
Then my sorrows awhile are remember'd no more;
Encircled by all I hold dear.

"But soon the loud lash of the overseer sounds,
For massa calls on him your Alba to bring;
From mountain to mountain the loud lash rebounds,
And smarting, still smarting, are poor Alba's wounds;
Yet they force your sad Alba to sing.

"'Come, sing us,' he cries, 'your favourite tale;
Come, sing of the joys that to Afric belong!'
My prayers and my weeping will nothing avail,
For prayers and entreaties with tyrants will fail:
So Alba begins his sad song.

"Ah! then, to the sea swiftly turning my eyes,
I think of my Yamba again and again,
And mem'ry retraces, with heart-rending sighs,
(For mem'ry o'er years and o'er seas quickly flies,)
And fixes more deeply my pain.

"Then the sports of my youth I with sorrow survey,
My father, my mother, and thou art my theme;
And my tears flow so fast, as I sing of the day,
When torn from the arms of my Yamba away,
Methinks my heart flows with the stream.

"One day, a poor bird that for massa was brought,
He cruelly coop'd in a small iron cage:
Oh! how sadly I grieved to see he was caught!
For he flutter'd, he raved, and too surely I thought
The poor wretch would have died with his rage.

"But soon he seem'd calm, and his song he began,
And his heart beat so high, and he look'd so at me;
And I think that he sang of tyrannical man,
And then of his mate; so thought I, if I can,
One captive, at least, shall be free.

"As I open'd his cage he dropp'd dead at my side,
The song was too much for his poor little breast;
Oh, then, how I wish'd that I also had died!
For then, with his Yamba, his partner, his bride,
Your Alba had soon been at rest.

"Prepare, my dear Yamba, your Alba to see,
For my heart soon will break, then to thee will I fly,
And death's icy hand shall soon set me free;
More bless'd than the hour of his birth will it be,
When Alba shall heave his last sigh!"

It is but justice here to give the exculpatory view of another writer on this subject, who thus speaks of Mr. Canning with regard to Negro Emancipation and other measures.

"We have said that Mr. Canning early adopted almost all Mr. Burke's views and opinions of great public questions. With him, he has been, from his first entrance into public life, the invariable opponent of Parliamentary Reform, the strenuous supporter of a gradual and safe abolition of Negro Slavery, and the uncompromising advocate of Catholic Emancipation. For the first, he risked his hopes of extensive popularity; for his temperate discretion with regard to the second, he has been honoured with the odium of a fanatic party; and for the third, he has sacrificed the perhaps highest object of his early and mature ambition, that of being the representative of the University of Oxford (his alma-mater) in Parliament. The grounds of his opinions on these questions are few and definite. That of his opposition to Reform, is founded on the knowledge which history furnishes us of the evils of a pure democracy—of the consequent benefits of a representative form of government —of the comparative inutility of this form of government, unless the authority of the people is entirely vested in the hands of their representatives, whose existence

depends upon them, and whose interests should be identical with their own; and upon its incompatibility with the genius, the monarchy, and the hereditary council of the British constitution. With him, Reform, when not a synonyme of dangerous innovation, is but a plausible closet-theory of some Utopian commonwealth; and the voice of the people, when not the railings of licentious demagogues, but the clamour of excited ignorance and prejudice. He thinks, with Mr. Burke, that the people should rather receive the 'tone' from their representatives, than the Parliament from the people; and that in the weather-glass of the state, the House of Commons should be the thermometer, while the moral and physical weight of the people should be indicated by the state of the barometer. The question of Parliamentary Reform thus becomes a choice between a republic and a monarchy; it is introduceable into Great Britain, therefore, only by force—the force of the people. They have a physical force to abolish the laws, and trample on the institutions of their forefathers, which we are morally and religiously bound (as well as by our laws) to transmit to our posterity—these institutions being the inheritance of the unborn, and incapable of being destroyed either by the people or their representatives. By the former, for the moment they did so, they would cease to be a nation; by the latter, inasmuch as the people would not suffer any other power to do that in their name, which they could not, and should not, do for themselves. On these grounds, he strenuously and successively opposes all plans of reform; considering the present scheme of the constitution, with all its defects, the best that human ingenuity has devised; and that all proposals of extending the powers of the people, are but, in the forcible language of Sir P. Francis, so many

vain attempts to build Greek temples, with brick-bats and rubbish.

"With regard to his advocacy of Slavery Abolition,—the fact that slavery *per se* is a great evil, that it is repugnant to the best feelings of the heart, and to the purity of the British constitution, is sufficient ground. The only question is, considering that the negro is at best but a full-grown child—that the usage of centuries has sanctioned his vassalage to the whites—that the property of individuals has been embarked on the faith of legislative enactments, and that the condition of the negro slave would be worse in his native home;—whether sound policy, humanity, and justice, do not force upon us the conviction of the expediency of effecting that abolition cautiously and gradually? Not to invest the negro with power which he can only use to his destruction—not to rob the planter of his property, on account of sectarian whims, or commercial jealousies—and not to deprive the mother country of the aid and services of a valuable colony. This is the view of the question that Mr. Canning long advocated—all others are unjust and impolitic.

"The condition of the Roman Catholics is equally an evil in itself, and hostile to the free spirit of the constitution, while their amelioration could not possibly be attended with any but beneficial consequences. To exclude the Catholics from the pale of the constitution on account of their religion, is to act in the teeth of the principles of Protestantism, and of the Revolution of 1688—to exclude them on account of the crimes of their forefathers, is too unjust to be more than noticed; and to exclude them now, that the special political occasions for the same laws against them no longer exist, is unjust and impolitic.

Mr. Canning's advocacy and *bona fide* toleration, is

by no means confined to its political expediency; with Locke and Paley, he views the question in its moral influence upon all classes of society. The gist of his arguments is contained in the following passage of Paley:—'The justice and expediency of toleration, we found primarily in its conduciveness to truth, and in the superior value of truth to that of any other quality which a religion can possess. This is the principal argument; but there are some auxiliary considerations, too important to be omitted. The constraining of the subject to the religion of the state, is a needless violation of natural liberty, and is an instance in which restraint is always grievous. Persecution produces no sincere conviction, nor any real change of opinion; on the contrary, it vitiates the public morals, by driving men to prevarication, under the name of revealed religion; systems of doctrine which men cannot believe, and dare not examine. Finally, it disgraces the character, and wounds the reputation of Christianity itself, by making it the author of oppression, cruelty, and falsehood.'"

The year 1798 becomes a remarkable one in the history of our hero, from his entering, with Messrs. Frere and Ellis, upon the production and conduct of a work called "The Anti-Jacobin Review, or Weekly Examiner," which attained a popularity unprecedented in periodical literature; and, indeed, was the first work that raised that branch of literature to the eminence and importance it has since sustained.

One of the leading principles of this work was to attack by ridicule, rather than argument, the popular opinions of the day. One of the first of those effusions was the "Friend of Humanity." The satire will be keenly relished by all who are acquainted with the cant of the

times. This little poem has been attributed to Coleridge and Southey; and, we think, published amongst some poems by the laureat. However, the press, one and all, agree in assigning the authorship to our hero.

"THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY AND THE KNIFE-GRINDER.

"FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

"Needy Knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast;—your hat has got a hole in't,
So have your breeches!

"Weary Knife-grinder! little think the proud ones,
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day, 'Knives and
Scissars to grind O!'

"Tell me, Knife-grinder, how came you to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the 'squire? or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

"Was it the 'squire, for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson, for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a law-suit?

"(Have you not read the Rights of Man, by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

"KNIFE-GRINDER.

"Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir,
Only last night, a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

"Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish-
Stocks for a vagrant.

"I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

"FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

"I give thee sixpence! I will see thee damn'd first—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!

"*(Kicks the Knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of Republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.)*"

It will be remembered that Mr. Southey's principles were then avowed to be such as to render it improbable that he would have penned the above lines; though he and Mr. Coleridge, at that period, indulged in similar satirical flights, but they were rather directed at the opposers than the friends of the republican and levelling system. The celebrated lines commencing—

"From his brimstone bed at the break of day,
The devil a walking had gone—"

were the production of their poetical partnership, though those verses have been generally and erroneously attributed to Porson.

In Chepstow Castle, Monmouthshire, there is a circular cell, formed like a well, from the base to the top of the building. In this cell, MARTEN, it will be remembered, languished upwards of a quarter of a century; the chain, and the remains of the iron hoop that enclosed his body, it is said, are still to be seen. On this subject Mr. Southey produced the following

"INSCRIPTION

For the apartment in Chepstow Castle, where HENRY MARTEN, *the Regicide, was imprisoned thirty years.*

"For thirty years secluded from mankind,
Here Marten linger'd. Often have these walls
Echoed his footsteps, as with even tread
He paced around his prison. Not to him
Did Nature's fair varieties exist;
He never saw the sun's delightful beams,
Save when through yon high bars he pour'd a sad
And broken splendor. Dost thou ask his crime?
HE HAD REBELL'D AGAINST THE KING, AND SAT
IN JUDGMENT ON HIM. For his ardent mind
Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth,
And peace, and liberty. Wild dreams, but such
As Plato loved; such as, with holy zeal,
Our Milton worshipp'd. Blessed hopes! awhile
From man withheld, even to the latter days
When Christ shall come, and all things be fulfill'd."

Mr. Canning, on reading it, produced the following parody. Without entering at all into the feelings which prompted this production, we may safely affirm, that it is one of the liveliest and best instances of that inferior style of writing ever produced.

"INSCRIPTION

"*For the door of the cell in Newgate, where* MRS. BROWNRIGG, *the Prentice-cide, was confined previous to her execution.*

"For one long term, or ere her trial came,
Here Brownrigg linger'd. Often have these cells
Echoed her blasphemies, as with shrill voice
She scream'd for fresh Geneva. Not to her
Did the blithe fields of Tothill, or thy street,
St. Giles, its fair varieties expand;
Till at the last in slow-drawn cart she went
To execution. Dost thou ask her crime?
SHE WHIPP'D TWO FEMALE 'PRENTICES TO DEATH,
AND HID THEM IN THE COAL-HOLE. For her mind
Shaped strictest plans of discipline. Sage schemes!

Such as Lycurgus taught, when at the shrine
Of the Orthyan goddess he bade flog
The little Spartans; such as erst chastised
Our Milton when at college. For this act
Did Brownrigg swing. Harsh laws! but time shall come
When France shall reign, and laws be all repeal'd."

His poem, called "New Morality," appeared in 1798, and completely established the work in which it was published. Modern readers will have no difficulty in filling up the blanks. Coleridge, Southey, Lloyd, Lambe, Thelwall (who was tried about 1794 for treason), Godwin, and Holcroft, are distinctly named. Williams was the notorious Anthony Pasquin, the warm advocate of Warren Hastings, and who afterwards assailed him with the most scurrilous abuse, for not rewarding him with the wages of his advocacy. This Williams, the reader will remember, was, we may say, extirpated by the satire of Gifford. He brought an action against that writer, and Erskine conducted the case; but, convinced of the rottenness of the cause he advocated, did not do common justice by his client, who, repulsed and disgraced, left the country.

Coleridge and Southey, who are both now enlisted on the ministerial side, were then violent Oppositionists. Lambe was, as he still is, a whig.

"NEW MORALITY.

"From mental mists to purge a nation's eyes;
To animate the weak, unite the wise;
To trace the deep infection, that pervades
The crowded town, and taints the rural shades;
To mark how wide extends the mighty waste
O'er the fair realms of Science, Learning, Taste;
To drive and scatter all the brood of lies,
And chase the varying falsehood as it flies;

The long arrears of ridicule to pay,
To drag reluctant Dulness back to day;
Much yet remains.—To you these themes belong,
Ye favour'd sons of virtue and of song!
Say, is the field too narrow? Are the times
Barren of folly, and devoid of crimes?

"Yet, venial vices, in a milder age,
Could rouse the warmth of Pope's satiric rage;
The doting miser and the lavish heir,
The follies and the foibles of the fair,
Sir Job, Sir Balaam, and old Euclio's thrift,
And Sappho's diamonds, with her dirty shift,
Blunt, Charteris, Hopkins,—meaner subjects fired
The keen-eyed Poet;—while the Muse inspired
Her ardent child—entwining as he sate,
His laurell'd chaplet with the thorns of hate.

"But say,—indignant does the Muse retire,
Her shrine deserted, and extinct its fire?
No pious hand to feed the sacred flame,
No raptured soul a Poet's charge to claim.

"Bethink thee (Gifford); when some future age
Shall trace the promise of thy playful page;—
'The hand which brush'd a swarm of fools away,
Should rouse to grasp a more reluctant prey!'*—
Think, then, will pleaded indolence excuse
The tame secession of thy languid Muse?

"Ah! where is now that promise? Why so long
Sleep the keen shafts of satire and of song?
Oh! come, with Taste and Virtue at thy side,
With ardent zeal inflamed, and patriot pride;
With keen poetic glance direct the blow,
And empty all thy quiver on the foe:

"* See the motto prefixed to 'The Baviad,' a satirical poem, by W. Gifford, Esq. unquestionably the best of its kind since the days of Pope:—

'———— Nunc in ovilia
Mox in reluctantes dracones.'

No pause—no rest—till weltering on the ground
The poisonous hydra lies, and pierced with many a wound.

"Thou, too!—the nameless Bard*,—whose honest zeal
For law, for morals, for the public weal,
Pours down impetuous on thy country's foes
The stream of verse, and many-languaged prose;
Thou too!—though oft thy ill-advised dislike
The guiltless head with random censure strike,—
Though quaint allusions, vague and undefined,
Play faintly round the ear, but mock the mind;
Through the mix'd mass yet taste and learning shine,
And manly vigour stamps the nervous line;
And patriot warmth the generous rage inspires;
And wakes and points the desultory fires!

"Yet more remain unknown: for who can tell
What bashful genius, in some rural cell,
As year to year, and day succeeds to day,
In joyless leisure wastes his life away?
In him the flame of early fancy shone;
His genuine worth his old companions own;
In childhood and in youth their chief confess'd,
His master's pride, his pattern to the rest.
Now far aloof retiring from the strife
Of busy talents and of active life,
As from the loop-holes of retreat, he views
Our stage, verse, pamphlets, politics, and news,
He loathes the world,—or, with reflection sad,
Concludes it irrecoverably mad;
Of taste, of learning, morals, all bereft,
No hope, no prospect to redeem it, left.

"Awake! for shame! or ere thy nobler sense
Sink in the oblivious pool of indolence!
Must wit be found alone on falsehood's side,
Unknown to truth, to virtue unallied?
Arise! nor scorn thy country's just alarms;
Wield in her cause thy long-neglected arms;

"* The author of the 'Pursuits of Literature.'

Of lofty satire pour the indignant strain,
Leagued with her friends, and ardent to maintain,
'Gainst Learning's, Virtue's, Truth's, Religion's foes,
A kingdom's safety, and the world's repose.

"If Vice appal thee,—if thou view with awe
Insults that brave, and crimes that 'scape the law;—
Yet may the specious bastard brood, which claim
A spurious homage under Virtue's name,
Sprung from that parent of ten thousand crimes,
The *new Philosophy* of modern times,—
Yet, these may rouse thee!—With unsparing hand,
Oh, lash the vile impostors from the land!

"First, stern Philanthropy:—not she, who dries
The orphan's tears, and wipes the widow's eyes;
Not she, who, sainted Charity her guide,
Of British bounty pours the annual tide:—
But *French* Philanthropy;—whose boundless mind
Glows with the general love of all mankind;—
Philanthropy,—beneath whose baneful sway
Each patriot passion sinks, and dies away.

"Taught in her school t' imbibe thy mawkish strain,
Condorcet filter'd through the dregs of Paine,
Each pert adept disowns a Briton's part,
And plucks the name of England from his heart.

"What! shall a name, a word, a sound, control
The aspiring thought, and cramp the expansive soul?
Shall one half-peopled Island's rocky round
A love, that glows for all Creation, bound?
And social charities contract the plan
Framed for thy Freedom, UNIVERSAL MAN?
—No—through the extended globe his feelings run,
As broad and general as the unbounded sun!
No narrow bigot *he;—his* reason'd view
Thy interests, England, rank with thine, Peru!
France at our doors, *he* sees no danger nigh,
But heaves for Turkey's woes the impartial sigh;
A steady Patriot of the World alone,
The Friend of every Country—but his own.

"Next comes a gentler Virtue.—Ah! beware,
Lest the harsh verse her shrinking softness scare.
Visit her not too roughly;—the warm sigh
Breathes on her lips;—the tear-drop gems her eye.
Sweet Sensibility, who dwells enshrined
In the fine foldings of the feeling mind;
With delicate Mimosa's sense endued,
Who shrinks instinctive from a hand too rude;
Or, like the *Anagallis*, prescient flower,
Shuts her soft petals at the approaching shower.
Sweet child of sickly Fancy!—her of yore
From her loved France Rousseau to exile bore;
And while midst lakes and mountains wild he ran,
Full of himself, and shunn'd the haunts of man,
Taught her o'er each lone vale and alpine steep
To lisp the story of his wrongs, and weep;
Taught her to cherish still in either eye,
Of tender tears a plentiful supply,
And pour them in her brooks that babbled by;—
—Taught by nice scale to meet her feelings strong,
False by degrees, and exquisitely wrong;—
—For the crush'd beetle *first*,—the widow'd dove,
And all the warbled sorrows of the grove;—
Next for poor suffering guilt;—and, last of all,
For Parents, Friends, a King and Country's fall.

"Mark her fair votaries, prodigal of grief,
With cureless pangs, and woes that mock relief,
Droop in soft sorrow * o'er a faded flower,
O'er a dead jack-ass pour the pearly shower;—
But hear, unmoved, of *Loire's* ensanguined flood,
Choked up with slain;—of *Lyons* drench'd in blood;
Of crimes that blot the age, the world with shame,
Foul crimes, but sicklied o'er with Freedom's name;
Altars and thrones subverted, social life
Trampled to earth,—the husband from the wife,
Parent from child, with ruthless fury torn;—
Of talents, honour, virtue, wit, forlorn,
In friendless exile,—of the wise and good
Staining the daily scaffold with their blood.—

"* Vide Sentimental Journey.

Of savage cruelties, that scare the mind,
The rage of madness with hell's lust combined—
Of hearts torn reeking from the mangled breast,—
They hear—and hope, that ALL IS FOR THE BEST.

"Fond hope!—but Justice sanctifies the prayer—
Justice!—here, Satire, strike! 'twere sin to spare!
Not she in British Courts that takes her stand,
The dawdling balance dangling in her hand,
Adjusting punishments to fraud and vice,
With scrupulous quirks, and disquisition nice—
But firm, erect, with keen reverted glance,
The avenging angel of regenerate France,
Who visits ancient sins on modern times,
And punishes the Pope for Cæsar's crimes.*

"Such is the liberal Justice which presides
In these our days, and modern patriots guides;
Justice, whose blood-stain'd book one sole decree,
One statute fills—"The People shall be free."
Free by what means?—by folly, madness, guilt,
By bounteous rapines, blood in oceans spilt:
By confiscation, in whose sweeping toils
The poor man's pittance with the rich man's spoils,
Mix'd in one common mass, are swept away,
To glut the short-lived tyrant of the day:—
By laws, religion, morals, all o'erthrown;
Rouse then, ye sovereign people, claim your own:
The licence that enthrals, the truth that blinds,
The wealth that starves you, and the power that grinds.

"* The manes of Vercengetorix are supposed to have been very much gratified by the invasion of Italy, and the plunder of the Roman territory. The defeat of the Burgundians is to be revenged on the modern inhabitants of Switzerland. But the Swiss were a free people, defending their liberties against a tyrant. Moreover, they happened to be in alliance with France at the time. No matter, Burgundy is since become a province of France, and the French have acquired a property in all the injuries and defeats which the people of that country may have sustained, together with the title to revenge and retaliation to be exercised in the present or any future centuries, as may be found most glorious and convenient.

So Justice bids.—'Twas her enlighten'd doom,
Louis, thy holy head devoted to the tomb!
'Twas Justice claim'd, in that accursed hour,
The fatal forfeit of too lenient power.
Mourn for the Man we may; but, for the King,—
Freedom, oh! Freedom's such a charming thing!

" 'Much may be said on both sides.'—Hark! I hear
A well-known voice that murmurs in my ear,—
The voice of Candour.—Hail! most solemn sage,
Thou drivelling virtue of this moral age,
Candour, which softens party's headlong rage.
Candour,—which spares its foes;—nor e'er descends
With bigot zeal to combat for its friends.
Candour,—which loves in see-saw strain to tell
Of acting foolishly, but meaning well;
Too nice to praise by wholesale, or to blame,
Convinced that all men's motives are the same;
And finds, with keen discriminating sight,
BLACK'S not so black; nor WHITE so very white.

" 'Fox, to be sure, was vehement and wrong;
But then Pitt's words you'll own were rather strong;
Both must be blamed, both pardon'd;—'twas just so
With Fox and Pitt, full forty years ago;
So Walpole, Pulteney;—factions, in all times,
Have had their follies, ministers their crimes.'

" Give me the avow'd, the erect, the manly foe,
Bold I can meet—perhaps may turn his blow;
But of all plagues, good heaven, thy wrath can send,
Save, save, oh! save me from the Candid Friend!

" 'Barras loves plunder,—Merlin takes a bribe,—
What then?—shall Candour these good men proscribe?
No! ere we join the loud-accusing throng,
Prove—not the facts—but that *they thought them wrong.*

" 'Why hang O'Quigley?—he, misguided man,
In sober thought his country's weal *might* plan.
And, while his deep-wrought treason sapp'd the throne,
Might act from *taste in morals* all his own.'

" Peace to such reasoners!—let them have their way,
Shut their dull eyes against the blaze of day.
Priestley's a saint, and Stone a patriot still!
And La Fayette a hero, if they will.

" I love the bold uncompromising mind,
Whose principles are fix'd, whose views defined:
Who scouts and scorns, in canting Candour's spite,
All *taste in morals*, innate sense of right,
And Nature's impulse, all uncheck'd by art,
And feelings fine, that float about the heart;
Content, for good men's guidance, bad men's awe,
On moral truth to rest, and gospel law.
Who owns, when traitors feel the avenging rod,
Just retribution, and the hand of God;
Who hears the groans through Olmutz' roofs that ring,
Of him who mock'd, misled, betray'd his King—
Hears unappall'd:—though Faction's zealots preach—
Unmoved, unsoften'd, by F—tzp—tr—ck's speech.
—That speech,* on which the melting Commons hung,
'While truths divine came mended from *his* tongue.'
How loving husband clings to duteous wife,—
How pure religion soothes the ills of life,—
How Popish ladies trust their pious fears
And naughty actions in their chaplain's ears.
Half novel and half sermon on it flow'd;
With pious zeal the Opposition glow'd;
And as o'er each the soft infection crept,
Sigh'd as he whined, and as he whisper'd wept;

" * The speech of General F—tzp—tr—ck, on his motion for an address of the House of Commons to the Emperor of Germany, to demand the deliverance of M. La Fayette from the prison of Olmutz, was one of the most dainty pieces of oratory that ever drew tears from a crowded gallery, and the clerks at the table. It was really quite moving to hear the General talk of religion, conjugal fidelity, and 'such branches of learning.' There were a few who laughed, indeed, but that was thought hard-hearted and immoral, and irreligious, and God knows what. Crying was the order of the day. Why will not Opposition try these topics again? La Fayette indeed (the more's the pity) is out. But why not a motion for a general gaol-delivery of all state-prisoners throughout Europe?

E'en C—w—n * dropt a sentimental tear,
And stout St. A—dr—w yelp'd a softer 'Hear!'

"O! nurse of crimes and fashions! which in vain
Our colder servile spirits would attain,
How do we ape thee, France! but, blundering still,
Disgrace the pattern by our want of skill.
The borrow'd step our awkward gait reveals.
(As clumsy C—rtn—y † mars the verse he steals:)
How do we ape thee, France!—nor claim alone
Thy arts, thy tastes, thy morals, for our own,

"* Now all the while did not this stony-hearted *cur* shed one tear.—*Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

"† This is a serious charge against an author, and ought to be well supported. To the proof, then!

"In an ode of the late lord Nugent's, are the following spirited lines:—

'Though Cato lived—though Tully spoke—
'Though Brutus dealt the godlike stroke,
'Yet perish'd fated Rome!'

"The author above-mentioned saw these lines, and liked them—as well he might: and as he had a mind to write about Rome himself, he did not scruple to enlist them into his service; but he thought it right to make a small alteration in their appearance, which he managed thus—Speaking of Rome, he says it is the place

'*Where* Cato lived.'—

"A sober truth: which gets rid at once of all the poetry and spirit of the original, and reduces the sentiment from an example of manners, virtue, patriotism, from the *vitæ exempla dedit* of lord Nugent, to a mere question of inhabitancy. *Ubi habitavit Cato*—where he was an inhabitant-householder, paying scot and lot, and had a house on the right-hand side of the way, as you go down *Esquiline* Hill, just opposite to the poulterer's. But to proceed—

'*Where* Cato lived; *where* Tully spoke,
'*Where* Brutus dealt the godlike stroke—
——— '*By which his glory rose!!!*'

"The last line is *not* borrowed.

"We question whether the history of modern literature can produce an instance of a theft so shameless, and turned to so little advantage.

But to thy worthies render homage due,
Their* 'hair-breadth 'scapes' with anxious interest view;
Statesmen and heroines whom this age adores,
Though plainer terms would call them rogues and w****s.

" See Louvet, patriot, pamphleteer, and sage,
Tempering with amorous fire his virtuous rage,
Form'd for all tasks, his various talents see,—
The luscious novel, the severe decree.
Then mark him weltering in his nasty sty,
Bare his lewd transports to the public eye.
Not *his* the love in silent groves that strays,
Quits the rude world, and shuns the vulgar gaze.
In Lodoiska's full possession blest,
One craving void still aches within his breast;—
Plunged in the filth and fondness of her arms,
Not to himself alone he stints her charms;
Clasp'd in each other's fond embrace they lie,
But know no joy, unless the world stands by.
—The fool of vanity, for her alone
He lives, loves, writes, and dies but to be known.

" His widow'd mourner flies to poison's aid,
Eager to join her Louvet's parted shade,
In those bright realms where sainted lovers stray,
But harsh emetics tear that hope away.†

" * See *Recit de mes Perils*, by Louvet; *Memoires d'un Detenu*, by Riouffe, &c. The avidity with which these productions were read, might, we should hope, be accounted for upon principles of mere curiosity, (as we read the Newgate Calendar, and the history of the Buccaneers,) not from any interest in favour of a set of wretches, infinitely more detestable than all the robbers and pirates that ever existed.

" † Every lover of modern French literature, and admirer of modern French characters, must remember the rout which was made about Louvet's death, and Lodoiska's poison. The attempt at self-slaughter, and the process of the recovery, the arsenic, and the castor oil, were served up in daily messes from the French papers, till the public absolutely sickened.

—Yet, hapless Louvet! where thy bones are laid,
The easy nymphs shall consecrate the shade.*
There, in the laughing morn of genial spring,
Unwedded pairs shall tender couplets sing;
Eringoes, o'er the hallow'd spot shall bloom,
And flies of Spain buzz softly round the tomb.†

"But hold, severer virtue claims the Muse—
Roland the just, with ribbands in his shoes ‡—
And Roland's spouse, who paints with chaste delight
The doubtful conflict of her nuptial night;—
Her virgin charms what fierce attacks assail'd,
And how the rigid minister§ prevailed.

"And ah! what verse can grace thy stately mien,
Guide of the world, preferment's golden queen,
Neckar's fair daughter,—Stael, the Epicene!
Bright o'er whose flaming cheek and purple‖ nosé,
The bloom of young desire unceasing glows!
Fain would the Muse—but ah! she dares no more,
A mournful voice, from lone Guyana's shore,¶
—Sad Quatremer—the bold presumption checks,
Forbid to question thy ambiguous sex.

"* *Faciles Napeæ.*

"† See Anthologia passim.

"‡ Such was the strictness of this minister's principles, that he positively refused to go to court in shoe buckles.—*See Dumourier's Memoirs.*

"§ See Madame Roland's Memoirs—'*Rigide Ministre*,'—Brissot a ses Commetans.

"‖ The 'pumple' nosed attorney of Furnival's Inn.—*Congreve's Way of the World.*

"¶ These lines contain the secret history of Quatremer's deportation. He presumed in the Council of Five Hundred to arraign Madame de Stael's conduct, and even to hint a doubt of her sex. He was sent to Guyana. The transaction naturally brings to one's mind the dialogue between *Falstaff* and *Hostess Quickly*, in Shakspeare's *Henry IV.*

"*Fal.* Thou art neither fish nor flesh—a man cannot tell where to have thee.

"*Quick.* Thou art an unjust man to say so—thou or any man knows where to have me.

"To thee, proud Barras bows;—thy charms control
Rewbell's brute rage, and Merlin's subtle soul;
Raised by thy hands, and fashion'd to thy will,
Thy power, thy guiding influence, governs still,
Where at the blood-stain'd board expert he plies,
The lame artificer of fraud and lies;
He with the mitred head and cloven heel,
Doom'd the coarse edge of Rewbell's jests to feel;*
To stand the playful buffet, and to hear
The frequent ink-stand whizzing past his ear;
While all the five directors laugh to see
'The limping priest so deft at his new ministry.'†

"Last of the ANOINTED FIVE behold, and least,
The Directorial Lama, Sovereign Priest,—
Lepaux: whom atheists worship; at whose nod
Bow their meek heads *the men without a God.*‡

"Ere long, perhaps, to this astonish'd Isle,
Fresh from the shores of subjugated Nile,
Shall Buonaparte's victor fleet protect
The genuine Theo-philanthropic sect,—
The sect of Marat, Mirabeau, Voltaire,—
Led by their pontiff, good La Reveillere.

"* For instance, in the course of a political discussion, Rewbell observed to the Ex-bishop—'*that his understanding was as crooked as his legs*'—'Vil Emigré, tu n'as pas le sens plus droit que les pieds,'—and therewithal threw an inkstand at him. It whizzed along, as we have been informed, like the fragment of a rock from the hand of one of Ossian's heroes:—but the wily apostate shrunk beneath the table, and the weapon passed over innocuous and guiltless of his blood or brains.

"† See Homer's description of Vulcan. First Iliad.

'Inextinguibilis vero exbriebatur risus beatis numinibus.
Ut viderunt Vulcanum per domos *ministrantem.*'

"‡ The men without a God—one of the new sects.—Their religion is intended to consist in the adoration of a Great Book, in which all the virtuous actions of the Society are to be entered and registered. 'In times of civil commotion they are to come forward, to exhort the citizens to unanimity, and to read them a chapter out of the Great Book. When oppressed or proscribed, they are to retire to a burying-ground, to wrap themselves up in their great coats, and wait the approach of death,' &c.

—Rejoiced our CLUBS shall greet him, and install
The holy Hunch-back in thy dome, St. Paul!
While countless votaries, thronging in his train,
Wave their red caps, and hymn this jocund strain:

" ' *Couriers* and *Stars*, Sedition's Evening Host,
' Thou *Morning Chronicle*, and *Morning Post*,
' Whether ye make the Rights of Man your theme,
' Your country libel, and your God blaspheme,
' Or dirt on private worth and virtue throw,
' Still, blasphemous or blackguard, praise Lepaux!

" ' And ye five other wandering birds, that move
' In sweet accord of harmony and love,
' C——dge and S—th—y, L—d, and L—be and Co.
' Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux!

" ' Pr—tl—y and W—f—ld, humble holy men,
' Give praises to his name with tongue and pen!
' T—lw—l, and ye that lecture as ye go,
' And for your pains get pelted, praise Lepaux!
' Praise him each Jacobin, or fool, or knave,
' And your cropp'd heads in sign of worship wave!

" ' All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
' Paine, W-ll-ms, G-dw-n, H-ler-ft, praise Lepaux!
' ——— and ———, with ——— join'd,
' And every other beast after his kind.

" ' And thou, *Leviathan!* on ocean's brim,
' Hugest of living things that sleep and swim;
' Thou, in whose nose by Burke's gigantic hand
' The hook was fix'd to drag thee to the land;
' With ———, and ———* in thy train,
' And ——— wallowing in the yeasty main,†

" * The reader is at liberty to fill up the blanks according to his own opinion, and after the chances and changes of the times. It would be highly unfair to hand down to posterity as followers of Leviathan, the names of men who may, and probably will soon grow ashamed of their leader.

" † Though the yeasty sea
Consume and swallow navigation up. *Macbeth.*

" The ship boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yeast and foam as you would thrust a cork into a hogshead. *Winter's Tale.*

'Still as ye snort, and puff, and spout, and blow,
'In puffing, and in spouting, praise Lepaux!'

"Britain, beware; nor let the insidious foe,
Of force despairing, aim a deadlier blow.
Thy peace, thy strength, with devilish wiles assail,
And, when her arms are vain, by arts prevail.
True, thou art rich, art powerful! through thine isle
Industrious skill, contented labour smile;
Far seas are studded with thy countless sails;
What wind but wafts them, and what shore but hails!
True, thou art brave!—o'er all the busy land
In patriot ranks embattled myriads stand;
Thy foes behold with impotent amaze,
And drop the lifted weapon as they gaze!

"But what avails to guard each outward part,
If subtlest poison, circling at thy heart,
Spite of thy courage, of thy power, and wealth,
Mine the sound fabric of thy vital health?

"So thine own oak, by some fair streamlet's side,
Waves its broad arms, and spreads its leafy pride,
Towers from the earth, and rearing to the skies
Its conscious strength, the tempest's wrath defies:
Its ample branches shield the fowls of air,
To its cool shades the panting herds repair.
The treacherous current works its noiseless way,
The fibres loosen and the roots decay;
Prostrate the beauteous ruin lies; and all,
That shared its shelter, perish in its fall.

"'O thou!—lamented sage!—whose prescient scan
Pierced through foul Anarchy's gigantic plan,
Prompt to incredulous hearers to disclose
The guilt of France, and Europe's world of woes:
The mighty sea-mark of these troubled days!
Thou, on whose name each distant age shall gaze,
O large of soul, of genius unconfined,
Born to delight, instruct, and mend mankind;
Burke! in whose breast a Roman ardour glow'd;
Whose copious tone with Grecian richness flow'd;

Well hast thou found (if such thy country's doom)
A timely refuge in the sheltering tomb!

"As far as realms, where eastern kings are laid,
In pomp of death, beneath the cypress shade,
The perfumed lamp with unextinguish'd light
Flames through the vault, and cheers the gloom of night.
So, mighty Burke! in thy sepulchral urn,
To Fancy's view, the lamp of Truth shall burn.
Thither late times shall turn their reverent eyes,
Led by thy light, and by thy wisdom wise.

"There *are*, to whom (*their* taste such pleasures cloy)
No light thy wisdom yields, thy wit no joy.
Peace to their heavy heads, and callous hearts,
Peace—such as sloth, as ignorance imparts!—
Pleased may they live to plan their country's good,
And crop, with calm content, their flow'ry food!

"What though thy venturous spirit loved to urge
The labouring theme to Reason's utmost verge,
Kindling and mounting from the enraptured sight;—
Still anxious wonder watch'd thy daring flight!
While vulgar minds, with mean malignant stare,
Gazed up, the triumph of thy fall to share!
Poor triumph! price of that extorted praise,
Which still to daring Genius Envy pays.

"Oh! for thy playful smile,—thy potent frown,—
To abash bold Vice, and laugh pert Folly down!
So should the Muse in Humour's happiest vein,
With verse that flow'd in metaphoric strain,
And apt allusions to the rural trade,
Tell of *what wood young* JACOBINS *are made;*
How the skill'd Gardener grafts, with nicest rule,
The *slip* of Coxcomb on the *stock* of Fool;
Forth in bright blossom bursts the tender sprig,
A thing to wonder at,* perhaps a *Whig*.—

"* *I. e.* Perhaps *a Member of the* Whig Club—a Society that has presumed to monopolize to itself a title to which it never had any claim, but from the character of those who have now withdrawn

Should tell, how wise each half-fledged pedant prates
Of weightiest matters, grave distinctions states—
—That rules of policy, and public good,
In Saxon times were rightly understood;
—That kings are proper, *may* be useful things,
But then some gentlemen object to kings;
—That in all times the Minister's to blame;
—That British liberty's an empty name,
Till each fair burgh, numerically free,
Shall choose its members by *the Rule of Three.*

" So should the Muse, with verse in thunder clothed,
Proclaim the crimes by God and Nature loathed,
Which—(when fell poison revels in the veins—
That poison fell, which frantic Gallia drains
From the crude fruit of Freedom's blasted tree)—
Blots the fair records of humanity.

" To feebler nations let proud France afford
Her damning choice,—the chalice or the sword,—
To drink or die; oh, fraud! oh, specious lie!
Delusive choice! for *if* they drink, they die.

" The sword we dread not: of ourselves secure,
Firm were our strength, our Peace and Freedom sure;
Let all the world confederate all its powers,
' Be they not back'd by those that should be ours,'
High on his rock shall Britain's Genius stand,
Scatter the crowded hosts, and vindicate the land.
Guard we but our own hearts: with constant view
To ancient morals, ancient manners true,
True to the manlier virtues, such as nerved
Our fathers' breasts, and this proud isle preserved
For many a rugged age:—and scorn the while,—
Each philosophic atheist's specious guile—'
The soft seductions, the refinements nice,
Of gay morality, and easy vice:

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themselves from it.—" *Perhaps*" signifies that *even* the Whig Club sometimes rejects a candidate, whose principles *(risum teneatis)* it affects to disapprove.

So shall we brave the storm;—our 'stablish'd power
Thy refuge, Europe, in some happier hour.—
But, French *in heart*—though victory crown our brow,
Low at our feet though prostrate nations bow,
Wealth gild our cities, commerce crowd our shore,—
London may shine, but England is no more."

This poem is the longest that Mr. Canning's leisure allowed him to produce; and, though its subject militated against its longevity, it is likely to be read with admiration, when the objects of it are forgotten, or merely remembered by the detestation they excited.

In the early part of 1799, when Tierney laid a broad accusation against the press in general, but *The Times* in particular, in which he was so powerfully seconded by Wyndham, our hero took no part; but on the consideration of the union with Ireland, he rose, and supported the measure, in opposition to Sheridan. The following is a portion of his speech on that occasion.

"With respect to the comparisons made between this measure and the forced incorporation of France, I would desire gentlemen to consider a moment what was the situation of the countries which she had pretended to unite with herself. Was there any similarity between them and her, in point of manners, language, or political opinions? Was there any analogy between such discordant connexion, and one between two countries that were united, already united, by the closest ties of friendship, by blood, by the same species of government,—both obeying the same sovereign, and speaking the same language? But was it on terms of promoting the common good of each nation, that France desired to incorporate other countries with her? Was it for the purpose of bettering the condition of her new members, and giving

them commercial advantages, that she formed these connexions? No: it was for the purpose of confiscation and plunder. The most strenuous friends of reform in Ireland have frequently said, that they wanted only to be brought to a situation nearer to that of England; in short, they wished for a British constitution in all its parts. But, among all those people whom France had sucked into the vortex of her despotism, there was not one who wished for the constitution offered to them. The conduct of France in regard to Piedmont was marked by every species of perfidy, injustice, and rapacity. Their barbarous cruelty was displayed in an uncommon degree, in the last act of that melancholy tragedy, when a beloved and valued monarch was driven from his throne and the place of his residence, without even the slightest cause; for no act of his towards France, nor (to use the language of that country) for any crime against his people; in short, for no other pretence but that France wanted his country."

At this time, the discovery of a Society of United Irishmen was attributed (with what truth we know not) to our hero. On the 2d of March, 1798, seventeen persons (says a journal of the period) were taken into custody, at a public house in Red Lion Court, Red Lion Square, and from thence to the Duke of Portland's office for examination, accused of having assembled as United Irishmen. The paper we have alluded to then proceeds as follows:—

"Thirty-one persons, of the same description, were brought up to the Police Office in Marlborough Street, and committed to prison. They were taken out of a house in St. Giles's.

"The Report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, on the treasonable documents lately presented

to the House, by order of his Majesty, is of great length; but the new facts which it contains, are not so numerous as they are important. These relate principally to the plans and objects of the different societies of United Englishmen, United Scotchmen, and United Irishmen, particularly those of the latter; the London divisions of whom, according to the Report, meditated an attack at the same time, on both Houses of Parliament, the Tower, and the Bank. Since detection of the various conspiracies of those societies, numbers of their members have associated themselves at Hamburgh, with the same treasonable intentions against these kingdoms. In consequence of the discoveries which have thus been made, some new laws will shortly be proposed, for the better prevention of political meetings, and the dispersion of illegal societies.

"In this Report we find the copy of a paper found on the persons recently taken up at a public-house, in Red Lion Court, and it sufficiently explains the cause and the necessity for their being apprehended. We also find the circumstances confirmed, that the enemy, in league with domestic traitors, was fitting out a most formidable armament at Brest, to invade Ireland; intending at the same time to attempt a diversion by another French force on different points of the coasts of this kingdom. Another armament, whose object is the same, is fitting out in the Texel.

"Upon a review of all the circumstances, it appears, that, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connexion has been maintained between all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings in both kingdoms, are no other than the entire overthrow of the British constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on

the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil society, and framed after the model of France.

"This system has been clearly developed, and rivals in infamy the most horrid transactions of the French revolution, which seems to be the model these traitors are most anxious to imitate. The intimate connexion kept up by the rebels in the two kingdoms, who have sent their emissaries backward and forward, when correspondence was likely to be detected, appears to be the reason of the late proclamation prohibiting the intercourse between the two kingdoms without a passport. The rebels in both countries appear subject to the same chiefs."*

Whether this interference of Mr. Canning's at all en-

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* It would seem that there was real danger to be feared from this Society, from the following:—

"*Copy of an Address to the People of Ireland, taken at the Division, No. 2, of the United Irishmen, near Red Lion Square, on Sunday the 10th of March*, 1799.

"Men of Ireland—Persevere—the cause of freedom must finally prevail. What has hitherto taken place, instead of discouraging you, should rather inspire the most animating confidence of success. If a few counties, ill armed and officered, were able to seize so many towns, and baffle for months near one hundred thousand troops, long trained to arms, nurtured in blood, and furnished with every requisite for war;—if, by the mere energy which the love of liberty inspires, they defeated them on many occasions, and never were defeated till their own ammunition was exhausted,—what would have been the result, had the whole nation risen at once, properly armed and organised? If, in the very moment when recent discomfiture dispirited the brave, and the fallacious hopes of lenity neutralised the mild and irresolute, nine hundred Frenchmen, with only three field-pieces, were able to defeat three armies, take several towns, and a whole train of artillery, kill double their number, and, almost unassisted, penetrate to the very centre of the island, what would as many thousand have accomplished, when

deared him to the duke of Portland, it is difficult to say; but it is self-evident, that this must have brought them

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supported by the entire population of the country? Had you been prepared to aid even that handful of auxiliaries, by intercepting or delaying convoys and reinforcements, they must have triumphed. But, although you were not then called prematurely into action, the time will speedily arrive, when you must be summoned to employ those arms which have lately been distributed. Hearken no longer to those insolent implacable upstarts, who boast of having wantonly made war upon a long-suffering people, and goaded you into rebellion by burning, rape, robbery, murder, torture, and every other diabolical expedient inquisitorial cruelty could devise; and who, in the same breath, impudently insult you with the ostentatious parade of mercy, when they are wearied, not satiated with slaughter and proscription. When the event of the late insurrection appeared doubtful, and the capital was blockaded by your arms, the inefficacy of open force suggested to the coward chancellor the ready aid of fraud:—'We must pardon them,' said he, 'or, if the country continues in its present state, it will be impossible for *us* to go on.' A general amnesty was accordingly held out, and this perfidious clemency was extolled, while a clandestine persecution was continued, to provoke you to acts that might palliate the meditated severities. Now that these equivocal measures have paralysed and divided you, where is the mercy of your tyrants? Will they rebuild for you those cabins, whose flames they have extinguished with innocent blood? Will they allow you to starve unmolested in your native air, which their hireling ruffians have polluted with pestilential carnage? or to weep over the desolation of your families in the arms of your childless consorts, whom Hessian ravishers have branded with infamy and disease?—No!—This would be too great an indulgence for traitors, who dared to vindicate by arms the common rights of men. By the boasted act of amnesty, his *gracious* Majesty excludes from his royal mercy '*all* who were in custody at any time since the year 1794, on any charge of treason, suspicion of treason, or treasonable practices; *all* yeomen who have deserted, or who administered any oath or obligation; *all* who carried on, consented to, assisted, or were concerned in any design or proposal for invading or procuring an invasion, or corresponding with a foreign power; *all* members of any executive, national, or county committee; all con-

into conference continually; and at this period he was paying his addresses to Miss Joan Scott, daughter of

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cerned in said *horrid and unnatural rebellion*, who do not deliver up arms and ammunition of every kind within a time to be appointed; all attainted, or to be attainted this session, or convicted by court-martial, since last May; all offenders against the mutiny act,' &c. With such numerous exclusions from forgiveness, it is hard to say who can escape; for the act of any one United Irishman being interpreted as the act of all, and the acts of the society as those of every other member, there is not one who will not directly or constructively fall under some of the above descriptions.

"Trust not, therefore, to such a deceitful mockery of mercy, (which, were it serious, would only ensure the continuance of all our grievances,) but depend solely on your own arms, and promised succour of your friends, who have already given you an earnest of what they can, and what they will perform. Rest assured, whatever the tools of government may assert of the disgust the French have conceived at your inactivity, they will very soon send the promised force of at least ten thousand troops, with an ample supply of military stores. If they find your men unprepared, you will have no excuse; and, instead of forming an independent republic, must submit to remain in the abject miserable condition of a tributary province. Arm, therefore, but without any violence, which may afford a pretence for reviving the sanguinary system of terror; and hide your arms with additional care, for new bills are framing to take them from you, and rigorous searches will speedily take place. Hold no meetings, but transmit singly and briefly to your tried friends those instructions which may soon issue for vigorous and active measures. Abstain from spirits, and every exciseable article that contributes to recruit the exhausted revenues of a bankrupt government, supported only by your vices, which enables them to maintain their hordes of regimented assassins. Intoxication has not only laid open your hearts to informers, but stimulated you headlong into danger, and disabled you equally to fight or fly. Take warning from the decisive battles (which to the disgrace of Ireland) you have lost by that alone, and reserve whatever you can save by future sobriety, to purchase ammunition for the approaching deliverance of your country. Those whom you have chosen still watch over your interests, and will not rashly hazard your safety. When a

Gen. Scott, and whose sister was then duchess of Portland; that the interest of his wife's brother-in-law was afterwards materially serviceable is well known. Mr. Canning obtained the hand of this lady in 1799, and with her a fortune of two hundred thousand pounds. The wealth and connexion that this marriage involved, raised Mr. Canning to a higher grade in society; and, backed as it was by his well-known talent, he was now looked forward to by all, as one who would materially affect the measures of this country's policy.

In the early part of 1801, Mrs. Canning became a mother. George Charles Canning was the first pledge of their mutual affection; he gave early promises of talent, but death stepped in between the indications of genius, and the fulfilment of hope. He died at the age of nineteen, and, though rather out of place, we here give insertion to the epitaph penned by his father. Those who knew Mr. Canning in private life can only appreciate how he felt such a loss. It does Mr. Canning as much credit as a poet, as it does to his feelings and his faith as a father and a Christian.

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proper occasion offers, their summons will issue in the customary official channel, and it will not be their fault if it does not at once extend to every part of Ireland. And then shall your oppressors see how much sooner the trained bands of corruption are exhausted, than a population of above four millions, roused by every provocation, and resolved on liberty or death; and then shall those who now charge you with barbarity, supplicate and receive that mercy which themselves denied."

"*Copy of a Form of Oath found in Thomas Evans's pocket, proposed for the United Englishmen.*

"I ———, do truly and sincerely engage to defend my country, should necessity require; for which purpose am willing to join the Society of True Britons, to learn the use of arms, in order that equal rights and laws should be established and defended."

"EPITAPH.

"GEORGE CHARLES CANNING,
"Eldest Son of
"The Right Honourable GEORGE CANNING, and
"JOAN SCOTT, his Wife;
"Born April 25, 1801—Died March 31, 1820.

"Though short thy span, God's unimpeach'd decrees,
Which made that shorten'd span one long disease,
Yet, merciful in chastening, gave thee scope
For mild, redeeming virtues, Faith and Hope;
Meek Resignation; pious Charity;
And, since this world was not the world for thee,
Far from thy path removed, with partial care,
Strife, Glory, Gain, and Pleasure's flowery snare,
Bade Earth's temptations pass thee harmless by,
And fix'd on Heaven thine unaverted eye!
"Oh! mark'd from birth, and nurtured for the skies!
In youth, with more than learning's wisdom, wise!
As sainted martyrs, patient to endure!
Simple as unweary'd infancy, and pure!
Pure from all stain, (save that of human clay,
Which Christ's atoning blood hath wash'd away!)
By mortal sufferings now no more oppress'd,
Mount, sinless Spirit, to thy destined rest!
While I—reversed our nature's kindlier doom—
Pour forth a father's sorrows on thy tomb."

Mr. Canning was engaged in his official duties, and did not involve himself in needless and useless controversies; he let the attacks of the opposition pass by, when they amounted only to words, and applied himself to the elucidation of facts.

Throughout the Anti-Jacobin, a caution was observed, that our hero should be but sparingly alluded to; and yet here and there we find his pieces, or his name, brought forward with all the warmth of friendship. The "Knife-

grinder" is more than once alluded to, and we find "New Morality" quoted in the work in which it was originally published, and called "an elegant poem," (vol. vii. p. 57.) The tone which was assumed on the change of the ministers, when Pitt resigned in 1801, is what we should have anticipated from the man. His feelings as a gentleman induced him to treat his successors with urbanity, and the articles entitled "Summary of Politics," at this period are peculiarly interesting. The most remarkable of these is, perhaps, the one published in the February number of that year. It has been attributed to our hero, and was, at all events, produced under his eye; it advocates points that we know he disclaimed, but it is in that style that the writer does not seem anxious to impress a conviction; in fact, the article *is not in earnest*. We present the commencement of it, especially as it unfolds the cause of Pitt's going out of office.

"Melancholy and painful as the task of recording passing events has frequently been, since the first commencement of our labours; full fraught as the times unquestionably are with occurrences of importance, almost unprecedented, to the present well-being and future existence of mankind, yet, compared with the circumstances of the moment, in this kingdom they lose much of their relative consequence; and our concern, for calamities with which Europe in general is afflicted, is almost lost in the dismal apprehensions which the peculiar situation of our country is calculated to excite. Sceptical and incredulous, indeed, must he be, who can withhold his belief from the manifest interposition of the Deity to produce this strange, this unlooked for, this unnatural state of things; a state of things which baffles all the vain speculations of human foresight, and sets at nought all the confident predictions of human wisdom. The ability to connect

cause with effect, in the ordinary occurrences of common life, is alone requisite to discover sin and punishment, in these most awful inflictions of divine providence. To what other source, indeed, were it possible to trace that waywardness of mind, which on the one hand has engendered the disposition to treat friendship as enmity, and to embrace enmity as kindness; and, on the other hand, has operated like a temporary blindness, obscuring the most acute and the most sound judgment, perverting the most splendid and the most solid abilities, and counteracting the most virtuous and most honourable principles, and so stimulating the most upright and best-intentioned patriots to the commission of an act of political suicide? Thus we behold ourselves, at once threatened with a hostile combination of all the naval and nearly all the military force of Europe—a combination alike without example and without excuse, unprincipled in its motives and criminal in its object—and with a dreadful schism in our own councils.

"Our high opinion of Mr. Pitt, the estimation in which we hold his talents and integrity, the gratitude which we feel towards him, for his eminent public services, and particularly for his successful efforts to stem the torrent of jacobinism at home, and his laudable, though ineffectual, exertions to arrest its progress abroad, have been too strongly and too repeatedly avowed by us, to admit of a doubt at the present moment. For earl Spencer, Mr. Wyndham, and the other noblemen and gentlemen who have participated in his labours, and supported him in his principles, we feel the same sentiments of esteem and gratitude. The feeble assistance which we have been enabled to afford them, in extending the propagation of those principles, has been given with sincerity and zeal, from a high and predominant sense of

duty to our country. It is that same sense of duty which now leads us to deplore, most deeply, the resignation of their respective offices, and the consequent loss of their services in the Cabinet; and at the same time to deprecate most strongly the adoption of those measures, the rejection of which, by their sovereign, occasioned that resignation. The first of these measures was the repeal of all the penal statutes that still remain in force against the Roman Catholics, which would place them on the same footing as the members of the Established Church; the second was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts,—which would, indeed, be a necessary consequence of the first; as it would scarcely be possible, after opening the doors of power and of Parliament to the Roman Catholics, to shut them against other dissenters, of whatever denomination. Our readers cannot have forgotten the repeated declarations which we have had occasion to make, of our sentiments on these two grand questions. We have long considered them attentively and deeply, and the result of that consideration has been, a firm conviction in our minds, that the almost unavoidable consequences of their adoption would be, the absolute subversion of the constituted order of things in Church and State. It is not, then, in times like these, which put men's principles to the test, that we are disposed to shrink from the duty which impels every honest man to proportion his efforts to the exigences of the moment; all our feeble powers shall be exerted in resistance of measures which, to us, appear pregnant with the most destructive effects to that constitution which we stand so solemnly pledged to support.

"We shall not here enter into any inquiry respecting the nature of the pledge which has been said to have been exacted by the friends of the union, in Ireland, as the condition of their support; and the anxiety to redeem

which, was the alleged cause of the resignation of Mr. Pitt; we shall, no doubt, have frequent opportunities, in the discharge of our duty as critics, of fully discussing that subject. In the mean time, it is sufficient for us to know, and we state the fact with confidence, (in order to remove some very false impressions which have been made on the public mind by a mis-statement,) that the King never gave his Cabinet Ministers the smallest reason to believe that the measures in question would have his sanction and support;—on the contrary, nearly three years ago, his Majesty declared his firm resolution never to give his consent to certain Acts, which consent, his sense and his conscience told him, would involve a violation of his Coronation Oath. To this must be imputed the memorable recal of earl Fitzwilliam, and to this must be ascribed his firmness in rejecting the propositions, and resisting the persuasions of his late ministers. It is, indeed, to us a matter of extreme surprise that, under such circumstances, those ministers should have ventured to give a pledge in the first instance; and afterwards, for the purpose of redeeming it, to introduce the subject of it into his Majesty's speech. The reception which such a proposition experienced, was such as surely they had good reason to expect; and his Majesty's explanation, when they foretold the consequences which would result from his refusal,—*Fiat justicia ruat cœlum!* —was such as most undoubtedly we should have expected from a previous knowledge of his sentiments and his character. His Majesty's conduct, and it is important to have it clearly understood, has been steady, uniform, consistent, and decisive; and he has, in all respects, proved himself worthy of the honourable title which he enjoys,—*Of the United Church of England and Ireland on Earth supreme head.*

"An attempt has been made by a respectable Catholic, Mr. Butler, (a gentleman who has, we believe, acted, more than once, as agent for the Catholics,) the fallacy of which we have exposed in the critical part of this number, to persuade the public that the Coronation Oath can be no possible bar to the King's acquiescence in the measures proposed. But, thank heaven! Mr. Butler is not the keeper of his Majesty's conscience, whoever may be the keeper of his own; and unless he have the ability to prove (not merely to assert) that the Established Church of these realms would not be endangered by the adoption of such measures, all his arguments will be nugatory. We have never been deemed adverse to the Roman Catholics; we have, indeed, been accused, by the Methodists, of being favourably inclined to their principles; but the truth is, as our readers will easily believe, that we are decidedly adverse to some of the fundamental articles of their faith, and very favourably disposed towards themselves. We wish them, therefore, to enjoy all the advantages of toleration, in its fullest extent, and to grant them every indulgence which is compatible with the safety of the establishment. But when an attempt is made to remove the line of distinction between toleration and encouragement; when, not contented with demanding as a right, that which they have hitherto received as an indulgence, they aspire to grasp the reins of government, and to acquire that consequence and power which lead by a slow but certain progress to ascendancy and command;—duty and inclination combine in opposition to an endeavour, the success of which would, we are convinced, prove the ruin of that establishment."

In the year 1801, an administration which had lasted upwards of seventeen years, which had established itself

in defiance of the House of Commons, had baffled, and at length subdued, a most formidable opposition, was suddenly dissolved; and on Friday, the 11th of January, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to his Majesty, which was immediately followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Canning.

It was some time before the new ministerial arrangements were announced, and probably some time before they were settled. We are unacquainted by what means the new ministers were recommended to his Majesty's notice: report said, that Mr. Addington entered the royal closet as a mediator, and came out prime minister. It is, however, more probable that the King, on this occasion, consulted his old and confidential friend, the earl of Liverpool; and that the integrity, candour, industry, and conciliating manners of that gentleman, distinguished him as a proper man for conducting the public affairs at a crisis when those qualities appeared to be most essential to the welfare of the state. Mr. Addington's appointment as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was followed by the nomination of lord Eldon to the office of lord high chancellor, lord St. Vincent to that of first lord of the admiralty, lord Hawkesbury as secretary of state for the foreign, lord Pelham for the home department, and colonel Yorke as secretary at war. Lord Eldon was succeeded by sir Richard Pepper Arden, who was created lord Alvanley, as chief justice of the Common Pleas; and Mr. Addington by sir John Mitford, as speaker of the House of Commons: sir William Grant was made master of the rolls, and Mr. Law and Mr. Percival attorney and solicitor generals. Before, however, the new ministers could regularly enter upon their respective offices, and before their appoint-

ment was announced in the *Gazette*, his Majesty was seized (in the month of February) with an alarming illness, and continued so far indisposed as to be unable to transact public business to the middle of the month of March. Till that period, the old ministers continued to hold the reins of government, with the exception only of lord St. Vincent and lord Hawkesbury, who had been inducted into office previous to his Majesty's indisposition.

On the 22d January, the Imperial Parliament was opened by commission, and the lord chancellor informed the Commons that they should proceed to the election of a speaker; when they made choice of Mr. Addington, who had not yet received the appointment which was noticed above. The Parliament after this adjourned to the 2d of February, and on that day was opened by his Majesty in person.

During the early part of the session, even after it was generally understood that the administration was totally changed, the old ministry continued to transact the public business.

Mr. Canning, about this period, addressed the House on the expediency of being prepared, in the event of hostilities with France being again renewed; in the course of which he said—"The enemy is making great preparations along the coast: can any one doubt that we should do the same? He (meaning Buonaparte) has succeeded in making himself master of a greater and richer extent of territory, than has changed hands for centuries in Europe. I am not speaking, nor is it my wish to speak, the language of alarm and trepidation; but if the person who is at the head of the government of France, persists in measures calculated to excite apprehension, we are called upon to meet every exigency,

by looking at his objects as he looks at them himself. He certainly has a great grasp of mind, and it becomes, of course, the duty of his Majesty's ministers to be proportionally vigilant."

As a proof of how correctly Mr. Canning had viewed the intentions of Buonaparte towards this country, and the correctness of his prognostic, the speech of his Majesty on the 8th of March, and of which the following is an extract, is a sufficient evidence.

"His Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the House, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he deems it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. His Majesty is therefore induced to make this communication to his faithful Parliament, in full persuasion that while they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuation of peace, he relies with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable him to adopt such measures as circumstances might appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interest of his people."

Shortly after this, another message was sent, by his Majesty, to the House, informing them, that he deemed it necessary to exercise the power vested in him by Act of Parliament, for embodying the militia of these kingdoms, for the defence and safety of his people, a measure which had been strenuously advocated by Mr. Canning. Indeed, he had always considered it necessary to remain every way prepared against such a foe as Napoleon; and the following speech of Mr. Canning, in reply to Mr. Whitbread, which appeared in the Annual Register, in the year 1800, will tend to show our hero's sentiments

towards Buonaparte, and his opinion of making peace during a reign of usurpation.

"I differ from the honourable gentleman in every sentiment which he has uttered; but no part of his speech so much displeases me, as his having stated that we and our allies have been guilty of as great enormities as the French. He has affirmed, that Great Britain has violated the rights of neutral nations, when her interests were concerned; and has adduced as a proof of it, our conduct to the republic of Genoa, and to the grand duke of Tuscany. When the French in their destructive career had penetrated Italy, and were, notwithstanding a brave resistance, discomfiting our allies in almost every encounter, till they at last arrived at the borders of Genoa,—it was the duty of that state to have refrained from all intercourse with them, much less to have afforded them assistance; instead of which, the Genoese supplied them with clothes, provisions, military stores, and necessaries of every description. Under these circumstances, had we not a right to order the government to dismiss the French ambassador, under risk of our displeasure? What was there in this demand unsanctioned by the law of nations and the uniform practice of every state of Europe? Ought we quietly to have sat down inactive, witnessing unlawful measures taken for the destruction in our allies? Had the Genoese adhered to the duties of neutral nations, their rights would never have been infringed.

"Respecting Florence, if the source of information be authentic, I do not pretend to say that our conduct has been as justifiable; but it is not authentic. The letter of lord Hervey to the duke of Tuscany has issued from the same jacobinical manufactory with the treaties of

Pavia and Pilnitz; and, like them, never had existed. Lord Hervey took measures for the preservation of British property in Leghorn, and to prevent, as far as was in his power, the government of Tuscany from assisting the French; but he did nothing for these purposes which the general practice of different nations did not entitle him to do. The court of Florence has complained,—but small states are always irritable, and, sensible of their weakness, are apt to think themselves insulted.

"Great stress has been laid on the declaration of his Majesty, after the failure of the negociation at Lisle; and occasions have never been omitted of censuring ministers for rejecting the offers lately made by the enemy. The statement of facts is the best refutation of censure and prejudice. Immediately after the departure of our ambassador from Lisle, his Majesty's arms were blessed by Providence with a signal victory, which might naturally be supposed to elate him and raise his pretensions. To do away these apprehensions, he published his declaration, in which his Majesty said, that notwithstanding the important advantages he had obtained, he was still ready, if the French were pacifically inclined, to treat on the same equitable terms proposed before this victory. But, because he was willing to negociate then on these terms, does it follow that he ought to do so now? The object of that declaration was to remove all bar to the treaty at that time, which the victory might have occasioned. Twice the Republic rejected our overtures, unfettered by any former promise or agreement, and were we not justified in refusing to listen to theirs?

"But it was impolitic to talk of the restoration of royalty—it was an insult on the government of France, and a certain mode of irritating the nation. If, notwithstanding their dreadful experience, there still remain in

that unhappy country some men enthusiastically attached to democracy—whose indignation is excited at the very name of king, who long for the overthrow of every regular state, hate religion and its ministers, and wish to reduce all order to one undistinguished mass,—an appeal must be fruitless; but, after ten years of misery, after having seen their commerce ruined, their navy destroyed, and their colonies wrested from them; after having been deprived of their property and bereaved of their children, forced to carry on a war, not only detrimental, but destructive to them; after wading through seas of blood, to grasp the empty shade of liberty, which has ever eluded their pursuit; after seeing, in the throne of their kings, a form which waved a sword in its hand, and made the people bow before it;—is it probable that they still bear an unconquerable antipathy to that line of princes, under whose gentle sway they had lived so respectably abroad, and so happily at home? I have not a doubt, but that the French people wish their restoration; and that the usurpation of Buonaparte has been considered as a step towards it. Although they may not be unanimous, it is yet our duty principally to consult our own interest—which is materially concerned in overturning their present government. Much has been said of the wickedness of the Bourbon family. I will not undertake to defend many of their actions; but the worst of them surely cannot be compared with those of the present rulers of France? Besides, are we to infer, that the conduct of their descendants will be equally unjustifiable? The honourable gentleman looks back with triumph to the reign of King William. I do the same. But it is not the skill of our generals, the valour of our troops, nor the spirit of the people, which chiefly deserve our applause: *it is the unanimous support*

afforded by the legislature to the executive government; and I wish for nothing so ardently, as to see the House follow the example of those times.

"It has been objected, that too harsh language has been used towards Buonaparte, and highly improper it must be to injure so respectable a personage! Yet, character must be taken into consideration, since, upon that, depends the nature of the peace to be obtained. It was not asserted that Buonaparte has been accessary to the infraction of every treaty which the French have infringed, but that he never kept any of the treaties which he has himself made; and that this is the case, is notorious to all the world. Supposing Buonaparte to be sincere, still a peace would be insecure. When France has so often changed her rulers, what reason have we to suppose that she will long obey the present one? His government is more arbitrary and despotic than any of the preceding. Despotism can never be permanent. It can be maintained only by a military force; and this is a precarious tenure to fix supreme power upon. Tyrants are particularly insecure amidst their armed guards; and, as this constitution is more detestable than any one else which has gone before, it must soon be overturned. I shall be censured for these strictures, by men who throw out the most illiberal abuse on our allies. This is jacobin justice. The success of the coalition depends on England remaining at the head of it. Were she to talk of negociating, its ardour would be cooled, and its exertions relaxed. There is every prospect of unanimity among the allied powers at present; and though, from some misunderstandings, the end of the last campaign has been less fortunate than was expected, it is, upon the whole, unparalleled for brilliancy, in the annals of history. Had any one foretold, twelve months ago, that

the French would possess, at this time, scarcely one fortress in Italy, he would have been considered a madman. If we succeed further, we shall have the consolation to reflect, that, by our spirit and steadiness, we have restored Europe to order, tranquillity, and happiness. If we fail, we shall not have the mortification to reflect, that we let slip a favourable opportunity to make peace. There never can occur a season for treating more unfit than the present. By acting otherwise than we now design, we shall damp the courage of our countrymen, introduce discord into the councils of our allies, and consolidate a power which will be afterwards employed in our destruction."

The session, commencing January 1801, was expected on all hands to be one of great difficulty. The state of the nation—the union with Ireland, just completed—war stretching itself on all sides, and this country finding new foes every hour—made the situation of the Minister perilous and harassing beyond precedent. Involved in difficulties to which no other Minister had ever been exposed; and expected to do, under such circumstances, more than any other man had ever done, even in periods of tranquillity,—Pitt, and lord Grenville, his ally, were nightly attacked by all the eloquence that the popular Opposition of the day could boast; and that party, supported by the prejudices of the people, doubly excited by the irritation of new taxes, to support a war which appeared to be interminable;—it excited little surprise that the greatest statesman grew tired of his unthankful office.

It was one part of Pitt's policy, to oppose the emancipation of the Catholics, so long as Ireland and England were in a state of disunion; but the instant these countries were combined, it was his wish to put the natives of

each country on an equal footing; and he had gone so far as to give a pledge of his services and interest to carry the question. Canning acceded to Pitt's views, though he did not wish the question to be agitated at an early period. Pitt persisted, and soon found he had to deal with a divided cabinet. Nor was this all. His Majesty, with a firmness and determination, (which, without entering into the merits of the cause,) at all events demanded respect, stated his belief that his Coronation Oath prevented his concurrence; and that, if the question passed both Houses, he should exert the highest privilege of his station, and refuse his sanction to the Bill. Pitt, unable to redeem his pledge to the people of the sister kingdom, determined to resign. It has been said, by his enemies, that this was merely a colourable pretence; and that a dread of contending with the mass of difficulty that surrounded him, was his real motive. This was the weak assertion of his enemies, or, at least, of those who knew little of the man of whom they spoke. Pitt was formed to encounter difficulties—he almost delighted in them. With a mind that grasped everything with tenacity—with views that were always gigantic—he rather gloried in the troubles of conflict, than sought to fly from them; and it was only when he thus found his power subjugated, and his views confined, that he quitted his station.

Even when Mr. Addington assumed the reins, Pitt, it was well known, guided in secret every movement; he and his colleagues having bound themselves to support the new administration. And so, indeed, they did; but they soon found it neither redounded to their pleasure or fame, to support and uphold those who could reflect no honour upon their assistants. The friendship of the ex-ministry grew cooler, and Pitt became an absentee;

whilst Canning and Dundas were most sparing of their eloquence in behalf of the new administration.

Towards the close of 1801, Pitt absolutely deserted them; and the attending influence in the upper House, under the banners of lord Grenville, also became weakened; indeed, it was broadly asserted, that lord Grenville looked on the Addington administration as one of necessity, as an occupation of place merely *pro tempore*, and expected that they should vacate and reinstate the former ministers.

The popularity the ministry acquired in their first year had never been anticipated by Pitt; and he now saw that those whom he had considered as mere instruments in his hands, could wield the power he had delegated to them, and defeat all his views.

It is well known, that Addington offered to Pitt to share all power with him; but that Pitt refused, unless he nominated the whole of the Cabinet Ministers. This could not of course be acceded to.

Some portion of the old ministry now engaged in a systematic opposition to the views of the Addington party. To praise Pitt, and attack Addington, was now the chief employment of Mr. Canning; opposing the latter violently by eloquence in the House, and attacking him with ridicule out of it. No man better knew how to apply his powers. A serious and argumentative speech, that he could not controvert, he would turn into ridicule with the most extraordinary facility. In this power he rivalled Sheridan. His powers as a parodist we have already noticed in his mock "Inscription;" it is also observable in his "New Morality." This talent he enlisted in his service against Addington. We have before remarked, that he and Sheridan seldom, if ever, attacked each other; and we have attributed this to their

early friendship. But Mr. Canning, in a short *jeu d'esprit*, which will be inserted in its place, departed from this rule of his conduct, when he speaks of interring

> "Of Sidmouth the firmness, the temper of Grey,
> And Treasurer Sheridan's *promise to pay*."

This palpable hit at the peculiarities of his friend was very severe.

Addington's father once kept a private madhouse in Berkshire. From this circumstance, that minister obtained the nickname of "Doctor;" which Canning applied to him on all occasions He has made good use of the title, in the following humorous effusion, in which, too, he made his first positive attack upon Sheridan.

"THE GRAND CONSULTATION.

'*Ambubaiarum Collegia Pharmacopeiæ.*'—HORACE.

"If the health and the strength, and the pure vital breath
Of old England, at last, must be *doctor'd* to death,
Oh! why must we die of one doctor alone?
And why must that doctor be just such a one
As Doctor Henry Addington?

"Oh! where is the great Doctor Dommicetti,
With his stews and his flues, and his vapours to sweat ye?
O! where is that Prince of all Mountebank fame,
With his baths of hot earth, and his beds of hot name?
Oh! where is Doctor Graham?

"Where are Somnambule Mesmer's convulsions magnetic?
Where is Myersbach, renown'd for his pills diuretic?
Where is Perkins, with tractors of magical skill?
Where's the anodyne necklace of Basil Burchell?
Oh! where is the great Van Butchell?

"Where's Sangrado Rush, so notorious for *bleedings?*
Where's Rumford, so famed for his writings and readings;
Where's that Count of the Kettle, that friend to the belly,
So renown'd for transforming old bones into jelly?—
Where, too, is the great Doctor Kelly?

"While Sam Solomon's lotion the public absterges,
He gives them his gold* as well as his purges;
But *our* frugal doctor this practice to shun,
Gives his *pills* to the public, the *Pells* to his *Son*.
Oh! fie! fie! Doctor Addington!
Oh! where is Doctor Solomon?

"Where are all the great doctors? No longer we want
This farrago of cowardice, cunning, and cant;
These braggarts! that one moment know not what fear is,
And the next moment, trembling, no longer know where is—
Lord Hawkesbury's† march to Paris?

"Then for Hobart and Sullivan, Hawkey and Hervey,
For Wallace and Castlereagh, Bleeke and Glenbervie,
For Sergeant, Vansittart, Monkhouse and Lee,
Give us Velno and Anderson, Locke, Spilsbury,
Doctor Ball, Doctors Brodum and Bree.

"And instead of the jack-pudding bluster of Sherry,
With his 'dagger of lath,' and his speeches so merry!‡
Let us bring to the field—every foe to appal—
Aldini's galvanic *deceptions*—and all
The *sleight of hand tricks* of Conjuror Val.

"So shall Golding and Bond, the Doctor's tall yeomen,
Dame Hiley, Dame Bragge, and the other *old Women*,
For new mountebanks changed, their old tricks bid farewell to,
And the famed d'Ivernois his arithmetic sell to
The wonderful wonder, the great Katterfelto!

"So shall England, escaped from her '*safe* politicians,'
Such an army array of her quacks and physicians,
Such lotions and potions, pills, lancets, and leeches,
That Massena shall tremble our coast when he reaches,
And the Consul himself —— his breeches."

"* Vide in daily papers, Doctor Solomon's Charitable Subscriptions and Abstergent Lotion.

"† Now Lord Liverpool.

"‡ See Mr. Gilray's admirable Caricature, entitled, 'Dramatic Loyalty; or the Patriotic Courage of Sherry Andrew'

Notwithstanding this poetic effusion, his political articles in the *Anti-jacobin* were mildly and moderately written. But, whatever moderation Mr. Canning evinced in his writings, he certainly did not carry the same determination into the House; for we find him in this year (1801) breaking forth in the following invective:—

"Away with the cant of measures, not men!—the idle supposition, that it is the harness, and not the horses, that draw the chariot along. No, sir; if the comparison must be made—if the distinction must be taken—men are everything—measures are comparatively nothing. I speak of times of difficulty and danger, when systems are shaken—when precedents and general rules of conduct fail. Then it is, that, not to that or this measure,—however prudently devised, however blameless in execution,—but to the energy and character of individuals, a state must be indebted for its salvation. Then it is, that kingdoms rise or fall, in proportion as they are upheld, not by well-meant endeavours, laudable though they may be, but by commanding, overawing talents, by able men.

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"I do think that the administration of the government ought to be in the ablest and fittest hands. I do not think that the hands in which it is now placed, answer that description. I do not pretend to conceal in what quarter I think that fitness most eminently resides."

Mr. Canning was not content with thus publicly declaring his sentiments—he wished to keep up or revive the popularity of his favourite minister—his friend—his patron;—he therefore wrote the song so well known by the title of "*The Pilot that weather'd the Storm;*" and, in

this, he afforded another proof of his talents, by accommodating his mind to the occasion, be that occasion what it might.

The glorious achievements of Nelson, and the British navy, generally, had rendered nautical allusion the favourite style in lyrical composition. Dibdin's songs, which were then the rage, were principally in this way. To make a song popular, it is not necessary that it should be good, but that it be in accordance with the style then in vogue. This was necessary, Canning knew, to attract attention; and so far he yielded to the necessity; willing to catch at any means to gain his end. In its burden, the song is decidedly Dibdinic; but, in all other respects, it is a very superior powerful composition, that the best lyric of the day need not have been ashamed to own.

"THE PILOT THAT WEATHER'D THE STORM.

"If hush'd the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep;
The sky, if no longer dark tempests deform;
When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
No!—Here's to the Pilot that weather'd the storm!

"At the footstool of Power let Flattery fawn,
Let Faction her idols extol to the skies;
To Virtue, in humble resentment withdrawn,
Unblamed may the merits of gratitude rise.

"And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
Whose example with envy all nations behold;
A Statesman unbiass'd by int'rest or fear,
By pow'r uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

"Who, when terror and doubt through the universe reign'd,
While rapine and treason their standards unfurl'd,
The heart and the hopes of his country maintain'd,
And one kingdom preserved 'midst the wreck of the world.

"Unheeding, unthankful, we bask in the blaze,
While the beams of the sun in full majesty shine;
When he sinks into twilight, with fondness we gaze,
And mark the mild lustre that gilds his decline.

"Lo! Pitt, when the course of thy greatness is o'er,
Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly recal!
Now justly we prize thee, when lost we deplore;
Admired in thy zenith, but loved in thy fall!

"O! take, then—for dangers by wisdom repell'd,
For evils, by courage and constancy braved—
O take! for a throne by thy counsels upheld,
The thanks of a people thy firmness has saved!

"And O! if again the rude whirlwind should rise!
The dawning of Peace should fresh darkness deform,
The regrets of the good, and the fears of the wise,
Shall turn to the Pilot that weather'd the storm!"

It was about this period, too, that an honourable baronet, having remarked that "those only wish to displace the ministers, who look for power, or emoluments, or honours, from their removal," Mr. Canning, in a happy vein of irony, retorted the imputation on the baronet, but gravely admonished him, in the words of Virgil:—

"Litus ama; altum alii teneant."
"Keep thou close to the shore; let others venture on the deep."

What Mr. Canning's feelings were, and what the general impression of his line of conduct was, may be gathered from the commencement of his speech on the subject of the cultivation of Trinidad.

After a few prefatory remarks on the Slave Trade, Mr. Canning said—"If any gentleman supposes that it is my intention to depreciate the value or obstruct the improvement of Trinidad, he is mistaken; I wish to improve it more effectually. If any one imagines that my object is to create embarrassment to the present adminis-

tration, by the proposition I am about to submit to the House, I know not how better to refute such an imagination, than by declaring, what I confidently and conscientiously do, that had the same opportunity, or rather the same necessity, for discussing the modes of cultivation, applicable to a new island in the West Indies, arisen under another administration,—under the administration of those who possessed all my confidence, and exclusively all my attachment—of those who had the glory of acquiring Trinidad, instead of those who had the prudence to retain it,—I should equally have thought it a duty, unless the subject had been previously taken up by government, or by abler hands than mine, not to let the first session of Parliament, after Trinidad had become the property of the British crown, pass away, without calling the House to the consideration of some such proposition as I have now the honour to submit. Not long after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, a paper was circulated, not only in the city of London, but throughout the Leeward Islands, purporting to be a copy of a plan in the possession of government, for the allotment and sale of the unclaimed lands in Trinidad, with such a description of the fertility and convenience of the settlement, as was calculated to excite the cupidity of monied men, and to lead to the expenditure of a great sum of British capital on that speculation. About the same time, a sort of notice was given in this House, by the chancellor of the exchequer, of an intention to raise a sum of money by the sale of uncleared lands, the property of the crown, in the West Indies. Putting these two circumstances together, I could not but be struck with the coincidence, and, therefore, took the earliest opportunity of inquiring of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether or not there

did exist such an intention respecting the Island of Trinidad, and whether Parliament was to be apprised of the plan, and to have an opportunity of considering it, before it was carried into execution? I received no assurance that such an intention did not exist, but was distinctly told, that if such a plan was in agitation, it would not be thought necessary previously to submit it to Parliament. It seemed to me, that there remained but one course to pursue,—to call the attention of the House to the subject, which I have accordingly done; and I think, that unless the House of Commons means to abandon its own pledges and duties altogether, it will not refuse to entertain the proposition. I contend strongly for the right which Parliament has to interfere in this business; and, if the right does exist, this is the stage of the business in which alone our interference can be effectual. If we wait until the sale and allotment of the lands in Trinidad are actually made, the thing will then be past our power; the mischief will be done, and we shall only regret, fruitlessly, that we did not interfere sooner.

"I wish to prevent the improvident disposal of the lands of Trinidad, in a manner that must completely frustrate the views of the House of Commons, until Parliament shall have had an opportunity of examining and discussing the subject. I have no thought of invading or endangering the vested interests of the West India proprietors; just the contrary. I am persuaded I shall show, that what I have to propose, is calculated to strengthen and secure them. I therefore entreat you, gentlemen, to divest your minds of the abstract question of the Slave Trade, and to consider this, as it is, a new question, arising out of a new state of things in the colonial world, and as one which it will become us equally

to consider, whether the old Slave Trade is to exist, be abolished, or be partially restrained. Whatever may be the fate of the question, the question of creating a new Slave Trade, for the cultivation of new land in a new colony, is fit matter for separate discussion; and the question, whether this be the only, or the best mode of turning the Island of Trinidad to good account, is one which it becomes us seriously to investigate, and to investigate now. When grants and sales have taken place, it will be too late;—I wish government to keep its faith; —I wish the House of Commons to keep its character;— and this can only be done by pausing to examine, before Trinidad is hastily put out of our hands.

"The object of my motion thus defined, there are naturally two distinct branches into which the considerations belonging to it divide themselves. First, how far is the House pledged not to adopt any measure that may tend to create a new Slave Trade; and how far is the cultivation of Trinidad, in the manner proposed, likely to interfere with those pledges? Secondly, what is the best account to which Trinidad can be turned, in every view of colonial and national policy?

"To prove what are the recorded opinions and pledges of the House, I request that the resolution of the House of Commons, of the 2d of April, 1792,—'That the Slave Trade ought to be gradually abolished,' may be read; and, also, the address of the House, of the 6th of April, 1797, praying, 'That his Majesty do direct such measures to be taken as should (among other things) gradually diminish the necessity, and ultimately lead to the termination of the Slave Trade;' together with his Majesty's gracious answer to that address; 'That he would give directions accordingly.'"

They were read.

Mr. Canning then went at some length into the history of the votes of the House of Commons, the resolution of 1792, moved by Mr. Dundas; and the address of 1797, moved by Mr. Charles Ellis, a West India proprietor; both of which pledged a desire gradually to diminish, and finally to abolish the Slave Trade.

Mr. Canning continued, "I appeal to Mr. Dundas, and to all who supported that motion, to vote in support of a measure, the object of which is not only strictly conformable to the spirit, but falls much within the letter of that address,—which goes not to diminish the old Slave Trade, but to prevent a fresh one from being instituted, more enormous in its extent, and more aggravated in its evils.—I appeal particularly to those, who, when the period at which the Slave Trade was to be made to cease altogether was under consideration, voted either for the year 1796, which was carried, or the year 1800, the longest period to which any man then ventured to propose prolonging its existence, and ask, with what face they can stand up and defend a plan for cultivating a new island, with new importations; a plan which must make the beginning of the 19th century, not the period of the extinction of the Slave Trade, as they fondly voted it, but the era of its revival,—of its new birth,—the date from which its warmest and most anxious admirers may cease to fear for its mortality or decay?

"I am convinced that those who have been the most violent opponents of every former measure for the restriction of the Slave Trade, are bound to support this. I mean the moderate men and the West Indians. To the Indians, indeed, I have still other arguments to address, those of their interest,—which are manifestly in my favour; but, for the present, I am content to appeal to their consistency."

Mr. Canning then entered into a statement, from the papers before the House, of the quantity of land remaining to be granted in Trinidad, in order to form some estimate of the number of negroes that would be required to bring it into cultivation. After which he continued :—

"There remains to be granted 2720 allotments of land of 320 acres each, amounting in all to 876,400 acres; of which near one half, or 420,000 acres, are stated to be fit for the cultivation of sugar. I particularise this, because the sugar cultivation is that which requires so much the greatest proportion of negro labour, that it in fact might be taken as regulating the importation. From the same authority it appears, that the estates already granted (by the Spanish government, for no grant has been made since the island came into the possession of his Majesty) were in number 400. The whole amount of the land in cultivation is somewhat about 34,000, or not quite one-twenty-fifth of what remains to be granted. On the island, in this state of cultivation, are employed, according to my information, 10,000 negroes; I have only to multiply that number by 25, and the result is 250,000. This calculation, 'large as it may appear,' is less than will be found to be the result of a comparison of Trinidad with the island of Jamaica, where, for 350,000 acres of sugar, they employ 250,000 negroes; and I consider only the same number is required for 420,000 acres in Trinidad. Respecting Jamaica, I take the late Mr. Bryan Edwards's statements, in preference to the report of the privy council, because they are lower, and I am therefore less liable to a suspicion of exaggeration in choosing them; and because, being before the public, there is the better opportunity for every gentleman who wishes it, to follow me in my deductions, and correct me if I am wrong. 250,000 is the least amount of negroes

required for cultivating the projected allotments of Trinidad; but is this all? Nothing like it.

"The question is not as to cultivating only, but as to clearing and bringing into cultivation—into *sudden* cultivation,—if the whole is to be disposed of, according to the plan in contemplation, to the best bidder, at one time. It has required a century and a half to bring Jamaica to its present state of cultivation; but it is not to be supposed that Trinidad will proceed so gradually.

"One million of negroes must be imported from Africa, before Trinidad can be as effectually cleared and cultivated as Jamaica. One million of beings to be swept from the face of the earth, and for what purpose?—To gratify what interest?—To comply with what necessity? There is no pretence of necessity, and the interest which has in all former instances been associated with the continuance and extension of the Slave Trade, in this instance is entirely the other way,—I mean the interest of the established West India planters."

After some other observations in support of his argument, to prove that the Slave Trade and the West Indian interest were distinct subjects, and in direct opposition to each other, Mr. Canning proceeded to the second division of the subject.

"In relation to the general security and stability of our colonial system, and the national policy of the country, I ask, would it be prudent to convert Trinidad at once into a sugar colony, to be cultivated by the same means with the others, subject to the same dangers, and partaking of the same weakness and insecurity? Is it possible to look at the present state of the colonial world, without feeling considerable awe and apprehension? The struggle now subsisting in St. Domingo, whichever way it may terminate, cannot but be produc-

tive of great evil and danger to our colonies; in the one event, a great moral danger, if the negroes are not thoroughly subdued; in the other case, a complete success to the French army,—a great military danger. In either of these events, what is the use to which it will be most desirable to turn our new acquisition? Will the moral danger be best guarded against by establishing a new negro colony, by immense importations from Africa? Will the military situation of Trinidad be best ascertained by a population which, while we defend it with one hand, we must keep down with the other? I will not dwell on these topics, because I am aware that they are too delicate to be agitated much at large in public discussions; but enough surely appears to any reasoning mind, on the first glance at the present situation and prospects of the West Indies, to prove, beyond doubt, that strength not sugar,—that to fence and support,—not to extend, with proportionate extension of weakness, our possessions in that quarter of the globe,—are the obvious dictates of policy, and equally necessary for the preservation of the colonies, whether to ourselves or to the mother country. In Trinidad, therefore, above all things, we ought to look for strength and solidity. We ought to make it, in the first instance, a strong military post, a naval station,—a place of recruit and refreshment for our fleets and armies. It ought to be used, not as a new venture, upon a speculation already hazardous and overloaded, but to protect and insure those which we have already at stake. This is what I call upon the House of Commons to do their part towards performing, by interposing to prevent an immediate alienation of the lands of Trinidad. If you ask me, gentlemen, by what means I think a natural population can be procured, I answer,—first, by not introducing an artificial one,—by not pouring

the population of Africa into the forests and morasses of Trinidad, to perish yearly, and yearly to be supplied by fresh importations. Secondly, by not making large grants or sales to great capitalists. By looking for settlers among classes of men who may be induced to become residents in the island. Such may be found among the meritorious soldiers of regiments on West India service; among foreign corps; among free blacks and creoles in the other islands; to all of whom encouragement should be held out, by grants of land, such as would enable them to subsist themselves and their families in a state of moderate independence. If it is objected that European labour is altogether incompetent to the climate, I answer,—for the cultivation of the great staple commodities of West India produce, certainly; but not for raising vegetables—not for breeding cattle—modes of agriculture which would make Trinidad a source of health and comfort to the soldiers and sailors of Great Britain, employed in the defence of the West Indies, and, in a measure, to the colonies themselves.

"There are also, if I am not much misinformed, other materials peculiar to Trinidad. There is a race of labourers in the habit of resorting annually to that island, from the neighbouring continent, to work for hire, in the most arduous and fatiguing branches of the colonial husbandry. They are called *Peons;* stout, active, inured to the climate, and capable of being, by proper encouragement, induced to come over in still more considerable numbers; and, no doubt, if proper means of subsistence were afforded them, would settle with their families in Trinidad. From this race might be created a hardy native militia, fitted, to a degree that European constitutions perhaps hardly ever attain, to endure the fatigue and difficulties of West Indian warfare. The

advantages to be derived from creole colonization, under certain possible circumstances in the political state of South America, are incalculable.

"There is, besides, another race, peculiar (I believe) at this moment to Trinidad; native Indians, who are to be found, to the number (according to the papers on the table) of about 1000; a people whom, if it were from no better motive than curiosity, I should be sorry not to have carefully preserved—the remnant of nations, among whom the sword, the spit, the racks, and the mine, have made such horrible ravages. These, who, by some unaccountable neglect, the Spaniards have neglected to exterminate, might and would, no doubt, keep an increasing native population. Here, then, are the means and chances for the establishment of a guiltless, bloodless colony, which it would be highly perverse and criminal to throw away untried, from a blind preference to the old method of annual importation from Africa, with such accumulation of misery, and such risk of mischief, as must attend them.

"Trinidad has many facilities which render it valuable, even if not a hogshead of sugar can be produced, nor the hand of a negro employed upon it; particularly as to its situation in respect to the Spanish Main; and is it improbable, that, by the policy of the court of Spain, aided by the suggestions of our government, Trininad should become the emporium of British and South American commerce! There are yet other advantages, which do not depend on foreign co-operation. It has been matter of constant dispute, between the colonists and those who have in this country contended for limitations on the Slave Trade, whether or not such improvement might be made in the colonial agriculture, as would diminish the necessity for importations of labourers from Africa?

"The colonists have said, with some justice, that they are willing and desirous that the experiment should be made, but that they cannot afford to hazard a year's returns in trying it. There is now an opportunity of trying the experiment, not at the expense of individuals, but of the public. Who can say what skill and machinery may do, to lessen negro labour? The first consequences to the other colonies will be—gradual improvement, by the silent operation of example, without the shock of innovation, or the risk of loss; the further and more enlarged consequences will be, a gradual abolition of the Slave Trade, produced without any interference on the part of this country—a diminution of the great and dangerous disproportion of blacks and whites at present in the island—a saving of British capital, and an economy of human life. These are not slight advantages; nor will Trinidad be ill employed, if turned to this account only. But I do not ask the House now to decide; I only ask them to pause, to allow themselves time for deliberation."

Mr. Canning concluded by moving—"'That a humble address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that, in consideration of the great importance of preventing the dangers and mischiefs which must arise from the excessive increase of the importation of negroes from Africa, if such importation shall be furnished without restriction into the Island of Trinidad; and for the purpose of avoiding any colour or pretext, by reason of new grants, to obstruct hereafter any regulations, which, to the wisdom of Parliament may, upon due investigation and deliberation, seem expedient:—

"'His Majesty's faithful Commons humbly request his Majesty, that he will not authorise any grants or sales of new lands in the Island of Trinidad, without express

condition, (under penalty of forfeiture and making void such grants or sales,) that no negro to be henceforth imported from Africa, shall be employed upon the said lands, until opportunity shall have been afforded to Parliament to make such provision as the circumstances of the case may be found to require, for the protection, limitation, or regulation of the importation of negroes from Africa into the said island; that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that there shall be laid before this House, in the next session of Parliament, an account of any such conditional grants or sales, as may have been made in the interval, and of the means employed and provided for the enforcing the observation and performance of the said condition; and that his Majesty will be graciously pleased further to direct, that there shall be laid before this House, as soon as the same can be prepared, such plan of regulations, as to his Majesty's government shall appear most advisable, for promoting the future cultivation or improvement of the Island of Trinidad, in the manner the least likely to interfere with the wish expressed by this House for the gradual diminution and ultimate termination of the African Slave Trade, and the most conducive to the stability and security of the interests of the colonies, and of the West Indian commerce of this country.' "

This speech was delivered on the 27th of May, and for variety and correctness of information, force of appeal, and clearness of elucidation, may vie with anything of the kind upon record.

We find him again personally attacking Addington in the following ode. Brother Hiley alludes to the honourable Hiley Addington, then a paymaster through his brother's influence.

"ODE TO THE 'DOCTOR.'

"How blest, how firm the Statesman stands,
(Him no low intrigue shall move),
Circled by faithful *kindred* bands,
And propp'd by fond *fraternal* love.

"When his speeches hobble vilely,
What '*Hear hims*' burst from brother Hiley;
When the faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of brother Bragge.

"When the faltering periods lag,
Or his yawning audience flag,
When his speeches hobble vilely,
Or the House receives him drily,
Cheer, O! cheer him, brother Bragge!
Cheer, O! cheer him, brother Hiley!

"Each a gentleman at large,
Lodged and fed at public charge,
Paying (with a grace to charm ye)
This the fleet, and that the army.

"Brother Bragge and brother Hiley,
Cheer him! when he speaks so vilely,
Cheer him! when his audience flag,
Brother Hiley, brother Bragge."

The enemies of Pitt had always urged his want of moderation, his proneness to expenditure, and the rashness of his acts. The Addington party, in contradiction, set up the doctrine of moderate measures, which Canning made the subject of his muse.

"MODERATE MEN AND MODERATE MEASURES.

"Praise to placeless proud ability,
Let the prudent muse disclaim;
And sing the Statesman—all civility—
Whom *moderate talents* raise to fame

He, no random projects urging,
Make us wild alarms to feel;
With *moderate measures*, gently *purging*
Ills that prey on Britain's weal.

CHORUS.
Gently *purging*,
Gently *purging*,
Gently *purging* Britain's weal.*

"Addington, with measured *motion*,
Keep the tenour of thy way;
To glory yield no rash devotion,
Led by luring lights astray;
Splendid talents are deceiving;
Tend to councils much too bold;
Moderate men we prize, believing,
All that glisters is not gold.

GRAND CHORUS.
All that *glisters*,
All that *glisters*,
All that *glisters* is not gold!"†

Amongst the occurrences of 1802, was the motion of sir Francis Burdett, for a vote of censure against Pitt and his colleagues, after their resignation of office, which was lost by a majority of 207—for the motion 39, against it 246. The Opposition, however, not dispirited though defeated, moved for an address to his Majesty, thanking him for the removal of Pitt; this was introduced by Mr. Nicholls, in a speech of peculiar acrimony. On this occasion, though not on the former, Canning spoke, but he treated the subject lightly; and his speech would now have little interest. Some of Pitt's friends then moved, as an amendment, a vote of thanks. Upon this subject, Fox

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"* 'Ere human statute purged the general weal.'
SHAKSPEARE.

"† 'Nor all that *glisters* gold.'—GRAY.

spoke; and, as some of his observations throw considerable light on the popular feeling of the period, a few sentences from it may not be uninteresting.

Mr. Fox said, "He was incapable of seconding the learned gentleman's address of thanks, for the dismission of the late Minister, till he actually knew *that he was dismissed*. If Mr. Pitt had resigned, and resigned, too, from inability to realise his plan of Catholic amelioration, then, however hostile he might have professed himself to that gentleman's principles and measures, he would loudly applaud this part of his conduct, and say, he honoured the motives which actuated it; nothing in his administration became him like the leaving it; he should, indeed, have been more disposed to believe, that Mr. Pitt *and his colleagues* were actuated by these motives, had they in Parliament avowed them; it was in Parliament that the plan of civil and religious liberty should originate; to suppose that the executive power only had energy to produce, and authority to support it, was to suppose in Parliament an undue submission to the will of the executive power; at any rate, he conceived, that the late ministers should have devolved on their successors the responsibility of opposing a plan which they had deemed of such public importance."

This year, though eventful, as it regarded the country, did not call our hero into action.

In 1803, the political history began with the trial, conviction, and execution of Despard, whose plans and connexions were evidences of those cabals which Pitt had suspected and suppressed.

In the April of that year, it was proposed that lord Chatham should be nominally Premier; but that Pitt and Addington should divide the power between them. Pitt adhered to his old demand (though Addington of-

fered to resign wholly to him on other conditions,) of the sole nomination of the Cabinet, and particularly desired to place Canning in a situation of importance and emolument; but the desire of the ex-minister could not be acceded to; and, as is ever the case with recent friends, the new and old ministers now became open enemies. Mr. Canning continually defended the late, and opposed the then ministers; sometimes with a ridicule, forcible and light, and often with invective, admirably supported by clear and conclusive reasoning. In pursuance of this line of conduct, we find him sometimes seconding and supporting Fox. Pitt grew languid, and appeared to lack the spirit to oppose; but Canning's energies seemed renewed at each debate, and, directly or indirectly, he always attacked Addington and his party.

The close of this year was marked by still stronger circumstances, for the Grenville party virtually joined the Whigs; lord Grenville, with earl Spencer and Mr. Wyndham, having refused to form a part of any administration that did not include Fox; nay, it was then stated, that Pitt himself proposed Fox;—but all this ended by Pitt resuming the reins he had resigned, and with him returned our hero.

In the "Antijacobin" of this period appeared a review, attributed to our hero, in which he thus speaks of Burke:—"Highly as we respected Burke, much as we admire his genius, his talents, and his wisdom, we never thought him infallible. We well know that parts of his writings were deeply tinged with party spirit; nor are we ignorant of how far party spirit will sometimes carry even the greatest mind. Burke's talents were woefully misapplied.

"To party he gave what was meant for mankind."

The year 1804 commenced under gloomy auspices. It may be necessary to explain the nature of the circumstances that affected the country, as, in the mass of occurrences that nearly a quarter of a century has involved, even the oldest politicians may have forgotten the particular events of the period.

"On the 14th of February, 1804, it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin, at the palace of St. James's, that, on that day, his Majesty was much indisposed: and a succession of similar notices, left little doubt of the serious nature of the communication. The alarm and consternation thus excited, throughout the metropolis, and the whole empire, is more easily to be conceived than expressed. The dreadful visitation of 1789 on our beloved sovereign, was present to every mind. The uneasiness of that period, and the height to which the differences of opinion, both in the legislature and the public, had proceeded, on the mode to be adopted for supplying the temporary suspension of the executive branch of the constitution, was recollected with increased dismay and apprehension. No provision had been suggested by the wisdom of Parliament on that occasion, (or on the more recent alarm in 1801, when it was universally supposed, that another attack of the same nature, although in a slighter degree, had been experienced,) to meet the inconveniences necessarily attendant on a similar calamity. But if the public mind were thus agitated during a period of profound peace, and during the administration of a most popular ministry, how must its anxiety be now increased, when every exertion the country could make, was employed to repel the threatened invasion of the most powerful and infuriate enemy Britain had ever encountered;—when consolation was derived, and energy excited, by the promise which the speech from the throne

had given, of the personal appearance of our gallant sovereign, in the ranks of his loyal and faithful people, should the foe venture to set his foot on British ground; —when the reins of government were in the hands of those, to whom few looked with confidence for holding them with skill and vigour, and none, for a continuance of their situation, which was obviously and hourly drawing to a period;—and when, in fine, the affairs of the country, in every possible event, required the utmost exertion and ability of its rulers, to ward off increasing evils, and impending destruction."

On the 9th of May, and on the two following days, his Majesty drove through the principal streets of London, in token of his convalescence. On the 12th, he again appointed Pitt chancellor of the exchequer. This being the first act after his recovery, was the highest compliment that could be paid to a statesman; though Sheridan, with his usual humour, said, on the occasion,— "Appointed Pitt! then he *was* mad, by ——!"

With the administration then forming, Mr. Canning publicly said, "He was as much disappointed as any man, but he should not relinquish any part he was called on to act, because it might chance to be an arduous one." He was, on the 26th of May, appointed treasurer of the navy.

A curious occurrence threw some light on the opinions of a noble lord, and the motives of the Minister at this period. The Admiral Alpin, East Indiaman, was captured by the French admiral L'nois. There were letters on board; and, amongst others, one from lord Grenville to the governor of India. A translation of this was published in the French newspapers, and from them re-translated into English. Of this double translation the following is a copy:—

"My dear Wellesley,

"Two days ago, I received your letter of the 16th of February, and I now reply to it, though I am not entirely certain when I shall have an opportunity of transmitting to you my answer. In regard to your stay in India, this question has been long ago decided; and so great is the distance which separates us, that before this can reach you, the time fixed for your departure will have arrived. I am not certain whether the event of the war, which our wise ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. No one was better able than they to appreciate the certainty of this event, so that we ought to suppose they have taken all those measures which the moment required; but every thing, however, shows that they were taken as much unawares, as if that event had been little expected. It is consequently not improbable, that when they found war unavoidable, that is to say, on the day when they declared it, they may have despatched orders to you to remain in India. But as I am entirely ignorant on this subject, I cannot reason on it. Should this not be the case, I hope nothing will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, supposing at that period that you have still *a country to revisit.* When I make use of this expression, do not imagine that my dissatisfaction with the conduct of the government has made any change in my opinion respecting the means and resources of this country; I have never been among the number of croakers on this subject. It is not so much opinion, (if I do not deceive myself,) as a perfect knowledge, equivalent to a certainty, which induces me to say, that the country possesses not only abundant and ample means of defence, but means sufficient to make our enemy repent of his hostile conduct, and to force him to fear, and consequently to respect us. But hitherto there has been so much indecision, timidity, and slowness, in all the measures taken to call forth our resources; and all our courage at this moment exhibits so much the impression of fear; that I cannot speak with any satisfaction of the talents which have been called into action, or of the dispositions which have been made. My course of political conduct, as you must have seen, differs more and more from that of government. In regard to the opinion I expressed on the peace, I have the satisfaction to find that justice is now done me in every part of the country. Not only have subsequent events proved that the small body with whom I acted in concert on this occasion, was composed of the only persons who then knew how to appreciate this measure and its consequences; but it has been generally acknowledged, that we rightly foresaw

what would take place. All the infamous calumnies of government have fallen with double force on their own heads. In every thing I have since done, and in every thing I have abstained from doing, you will, I hope, perceive those sentiments, and those principles, from which no opinion, however unfavourable it may be to the personal conduct of any individual, shall ever make me deviate. Had I been certain of an opportunity, I should have written you a detail of what has taken place since April last, in regard to the projected change in the government, and would have explained (as far as I have been able to understand them) the grounds of the conduct which Pitt has since observed. It gives me great pleasure to see, that while my difference with Addington becomes every day more marked, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct, daily decrease. We have not, however, yet been able to assimilate completely our plans of political conduct. Our situation, indeed, in one essential point of view, is entirely different. Though he did not recommend Addington to his present employment, (and, indeed, who is there that knows him would have done it?) he nevertheless gave him a certain portion of influence, more active than my opinion would have permitted me to grant, in the formation of the new administration. He advised their measures a long time after I had ceased to have any intercourse with them, and he approved of them in different points, which appeared to me the most criminal, and which were indeed so, as proved by the event. He is consequently more hampered in his conduct than I am, and he does not at present enjoy the inestimable advantage which I possess, of never having concealed nor compromised my opinion, in regard to matters of so much political importance; but, I believe that his ideas on their political conduct are not much different from mine, if they differ at all; and to all this must be added a resentment justly merited from the personal conduct of Mr. Addington towards him. He does not endeavour to conceal his sentiments. If he has written to you, (which he certainly must have done, had he not contracted the bad habit of never writing to any one,) he must have expressed to you, I am persuaded, all these sentiments without reserve; and it is under this persuasion that I enlarge so much to you on his opinions. The measure, indeed, which he has lately adopted, (I allude to his motion of adjournment, on the vote of censure, ill judged in itself, as I think it was, and unfortunate in its result, since it lessened his public influence,) has, at least, the merit of expressing, in an unequivocal manner, his disapprobation of the conduct of government. I will not hazard a conjecture in regard to the new events

which may take place before your arrival; and the only advice I wish to give you is, what I have more than once suggested, not to engage for any thing until you return, but to retain the liberty of acting, according to such motives as you shall judge proper to direct your conduct when you are on the spot, and according as the different relations between persons at the head of affairs in the different subdivisions of parties, shall have enabled you to judge what suits you best. In regard to the idea thrown out, in the extract you have sent me from your letter to Mr. Addington, you ought, in my opinion, to consider it only as a possible, though remote event. As for eternal enmity, I detest the idea; and, if I have an eternal enmity, it is against the partisans of a principle so detestable. But much is due to public opinion, as well as to the personal situation and character of individuals, which ought to be respected long after they have ceased to have resentment, or to take pleasure in giving proofs of it; and nothing appears to me less probable than to see Pitt and me, at any near period, (perhaps I may say, at any period of our lives,) reconciled, and disposed to re-establish with Addington our former relations. The papers, if you have them, will inform you, that all our conversation at present turns on invasion, and that we at length begin to take measures for enabling us to face our enemies, if they should be able to effect a landing, which, though very improbable, is not, certainly, in any manner impossible. To speak of conquering, or subduing, ten or twelve millions of men, if prepared for the contest, and directed by a government desirous and capable of animating their efforts, would be completely ridiculous. But experience has shown, that the number of inhabitants alone, and even advantage of local situation, are nothing, if the direction of the defence remains in the hands of men distinguished only by their imbecility and weakness. In Holland even, and still more in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the countries were given up by the weakness, not of the people, but of their governments; and in like manner, if in this island, or in Ireland, we should experience any considerable check, we shall owe it not to the timidity or ignorance of the nation, but solely to those of government. You must be already enabled to judge to what a degree these qualities exist in the present government, if (as I suppose) you have, before you receive this letter, read the correspondence of lord Hawkesbury with Otto and lord Whitworth, and compared the dates of the different counter-orders in regard to the Cape, during the course of our communications with France. It would be superfluous to add to the length of this letter, by expatiating on the pleasure which I experienced,

on finding in your letter those expressions of friendship which belong to our old and uninterrupted intimacy. I never did more for you, than you would have done for me, on a like occasion; and if the intrigue planned against you is totally without effect, and your measures have been approved before they were arraigned, I cannot flatter myself with having contributed to this result by my efforts;—but you may, in my opinion, consider the affair as terminated. It does not appear that a single word of it was mentioned in Parliament before Christmas, and I really believe that you have nothing to fear. You can now have nothing further to apprehend on the subject, except perhaps the trouble and unpleasantness of a controversy of this description.

"I remain, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

Mr. Pitt was anxious to have the aid of the Grenville party. The King forbid the employment of Fox; and Lord Grenville, as will be seen by his letter, declined to accept any office. The re-translation already given, and the following letter, are a couple of curious political documents, and well worthy of preservation. Lord Grenville *never* admitted, but never denied, the authorship imputed to him.

"MY DEAR PITT,

"I have already apprised you, that all the persons to whom, at your desire, I communicated what passed between us yesterday, agree with me in the decided opinion, that we ought not to engage in the administration which you are now employed in forming.—We should be sincerely sorry if, by declining this proposal, we should appear less desirous than we must always be, of rendering to his Majesty, to the utmost of our power, every advice of which he may be graciously pleased to think us capable.—No consideration of personal ease or comfort, no apprehension of responsibility, nor reluctance to meet the real situation into which the country has been brought, have any weight in this decision: nor are we fettered by any engagement on the subject, either expressed or implied; we rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion.

"It is unnecessary to dwell on the mischiefs which have already resulted from placing the great offices of government, in weak and incapable hands. We see no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, but by uniting in the public service 'as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception.' This opinion I have already had occasion to express to you in the same words, and we have, for some time past, been publicly acting in conformity to it; nor can we, while we remain impressed with that persuasion, concur in defeating an object for which the circumstances of the times afford at once so strong an inducement, and so favourable an occasion.

"An opportunity now offers, such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who, by the public voice and sentiment, are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public, upon this occasion, are completely in unison with its interests; and the advantages which not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world, might derive from the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

"We are certainly not ignorant of the difficulties which might have obstructed the final accomplishment of such an object, however earnestly pursued. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when the denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinions.

"I remain,

"My dear Pitt, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

Lord Melville's appointment as first lord of the admiralty, was matter of surprise to most. The celebrated Catamaran project had Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Canning's concurrence.* The enemies of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues

* This occurrence demands mention, and the following account is authentic:—

"Towards the latter end of the year, a great proportion of the

made themselves very merry on the subject; but many celebrated naval officers had concurred in the Minister's

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enemy's flotilla having assembled in safety and in considerable force at Boulogne, the alarm of invasion universally prevailed. It was at this period that a project for its destruction was set on foot, of the success of which the greatest hopes were entertained.

"This plan was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels of an oblong form, containing a quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats, by a small raft, rowed by one man, who being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly escape detection in a dark night. Fire-ships of different construction were also to be employed in this projected attack. The most active and enterprising officers were distributed in the different explosion vessels, and the whole put under the orders and direction of admiral lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron. The appearance of 150 of the enemy's flotilla on the outside of the pier of Boulogne, determined the moment of attack, and an early day in October was fixed upon for this important operation. It is not easy to describe the mingled sensations of anxiety and confidence, which the length of time, and the extent of the preparation for this enterprise, had created in the public mind. The latter, however, far predominated, and was confirmed by the rumours which were industriously spread, that the first lord of the admiralty would himself superintend the execution of his plan, and that Mr. Pitt and other of the ministers were to be witnesses of its success, from the elevation of Walmer Castle. To such a pitch had this infatuation risen, that accounts in the public papers were published, on the first moment it was possible that the issue of the contest could be known in the metropolis, announcing, in the most enthusiastic and exaggerated terms, its complete success in the utter destruction of 150 of the enemy's ships, (the whole number on the outside of the pier,) and congratulating the country on the acquisition of such a naval minister as lord Melville, for whom they claimed the whole merit of the plan, and no small share of that of its execution! The joy and exultation to which those fabrications (which were, doubtless, written in anticipation of the event) gave birth, were lowered gradually by the non-appearance of official statements; and when lord Keith's ac-

opinions; and if *they* erred, surely it was no reproach that they were in error as to the practical part of nautical tactics.

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count appeared, some few days afterwards, totally subsided, and gave way to sentiments of a very opposite nature.

"On a comparison of the English and French accounts of this affair, it may, we think, be fairly stated as follows. On the 2d of October, admiral lord Keith, with his formidable squadron, anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was thence detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and to give protection to wounded men, or to boats that might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen, and blow in shore, to tow off the boats in general. While these preparations were going forward, the enemy was not inattentive or negligent in preparing his defences: the batteries were prepared, and the army drawn up in readiness for what might happen. At a quarter past nine, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through, and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line, without falling on board of any one of them.

"At half past ten, the first explosion ship blew up; it produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread far and wide, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better: at length, after twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock on the following morning; and the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, without the loss of a man. No mischief whatever was ascertained to be done to the flotilla, but from the missing two brigs and some smaller vessels in their line, the next day, lord Keith thought it possible they might be destroyed. The French reports acknowledge the loss of 25 men in killed and wounded.

"The boat in which the catamaran was, (it was afterwards asserted), was close upon the enemy, but it struck something, and the lieutenant on board of her imprudently called out aloud, 'What are ye at?' and was overheard by the French; and they had only time to save their lives, for several were severely wounded as they rowed away."

Towards the close of 1804, Buonaparte was crowned with due solemnities, and declared emperor of France; and that country rose rapidly in national prosperity.

The following year brought about an inquiry that involved one of our hero's friends in difficulty, if not disgrace.

It will be in the reader's recollection, that in 1805, a trial by impeachment of lord Melville occurred, the grounds for which were briefly as follows:—

Mr. Dundas was, in 1782, appointed treasurer of the navy, and president of the board of control. In 1800, he resigned the latter office; and in 1801, when Pitt went out, gave up the former also. In 1804, when this celebrated statesman resumed the reins, Mr. Dundas, then viscount Melville, was made first lord of the Admiralty. In 1805, a series of charges were exhibited against that nobleman, amongst which, some were, that he, viscount Melville, when treasurer of the navy, had received large sums of money from his Majesty's exchequer, and fraudulently converted the same to his own use.

Whilst Mr. Dundas was in his first official capacity, as treasurer of the navy, he busied himself in examining into and taking measures to prevent the misuse of public monies.

On the 13th of June, 1782, the following resolutions were passed by the committee of the House of Commons:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that some regulations ought to be adopted, for the purpose of lessening and keeping down the balances of public money, which appear to have usually been in the hands of the treasurer of the navy; and it would be beneficial to the public, if the first and other clerks in the different branches belonging to the said office, were paid by fixed and per-

manent salaries, in lieu of fees, gratuities, and other perquisites whatsoever.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that from henceforward the paymaster-general of his Majesty's land forces, and the treasurer of the navy, for the time being, shall not apply any sum or sums of money entrusted to them, or either of them, to any purpose of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly.

"That it appears to this committee, that the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom, have, so far as appears from the reports hitherto made, discharged the duty entrusted to them with great diligence, accuracy, and ability; and if Parliament shall carry into execution those plans of reform and regulation which are suggested by the matter contained in the reports of the said commissioners, it cannot but be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the future welfare and prosperity of this kingdom."

This Act originated with, and was carried into effect by, Mr. Dundas; and yet he was the only treasurer of the navy accused of having infringed its laws.

Mr. Dundas followed this up, by causing an Act to pass, to prevent the passing of forged instruments, and caused all wills, and powers of attorney of seamen, to be signed by the officers of the port, whose signatures are known at the Navy Office. Likewise a Bill to empower every seaman, while in the service of government, to remit six months' pay to his wife and family, which proved a great encouragement and inducement to them to enter into the navy.

In 1804, Mr. Dundas, or rather lord Melville, he having previously been created a peer by that title, received the appointment of first lord of the Admiralty.

He had not held this high and important appointment long, before an inquiry into the abuses in the naval department was instituted, at the instigation of the earl St. Vincent, his lordship's predecessor. It was composed of five gentlemen, who had authority to examine witnesses, and who had found it necessary to call upon lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, for information relative to various sums of money, of the application of which, during the treasurership of the former, they could find no account.

In a letter, dated March 28, 1805, lord Melville replied to this question at some length, but the substance of his reply is contained in the following words:—

"I learn from Mr. Trotter,* that in the accounts he has kept respecting my private concerns, he has so blended his own private monies with what he had in his hands of public money, that it is impossible for him to ascertain with precision, whether the advances he had occasion to make to me, in the course of his running private account with me, were made from one or the other aggregate sums which constituted his balance with Messrs. Coutts."

To which lord Melville added, that he never authorised Mr. Trotter to apply any monies to his use, but considered any advance as an advance from Mr. Trotter to him, lord Melville, and that he was indebted to Mr. Trotter for any sums so advanced.

On the 8th of April, 1805, Mr. Whitbread moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; and concluded a long speech, in which he severely reflected on lord Melville and Mr.

* Mr. Trotter held the situation of paymaster of the navy, by the appointment of lord Melville, and was, previous to this appointment, a clerk in the Pay Office.

Trotter, by moving, amongst others, the following resolutions:—

"That in defiance of the act of the 25th Geo. III. c. 31. large sums of money were, under pretence of naval services, and in scandalous evasion of the Act, at various times drawn from the Bank, and invested in Exchequer and Navy Bills, lent upon the security of stock, employed in discounting private bills, in purchasing bank and East India stock, and used in various ways, for the purposes of private emolument.

"That Alexander Trotter, esq. was the person by whom and in whose name the public money was thus employed; and that, in so doing, he acted with the knowledge and consent of lord viscount Melville, to whom he was at the same time private agent, and for whose use or benefit he occasionally laid out from £10,000 to £20,000, without considering whether he was previously in advance to his lordship, and whether such advances were made from his private or public balances.

"That the right honourable lord viscount Melville having been privy to, and conniving at the withdrawing from the bank of England, for the purposes of private interest or emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed to his account in the Bank, according to the provisions of the 25th Geo. III. cap. 31. has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty.

"That lord Melville, in a letter in answer to a precept issued by the commissioners of naval inquiry, requiring an account of money received by him, or any person on his account, or by his order, from the paymaster of the navy, has declared that he has no materials by which he could make up such an account.

"That lord Melville has acted in a manner inconsistent with his duty, and incompatible with those securities which the legislature has provided for the proper application of the public money."

On a division of the House, the ayes 216—noes 216, the honourable speaker gave the casting vote, which carried Mr. Whitbread's motion.

From the commencement of this inquiry, Canning gave all his energies in support of Melville. His lordship, when Mr. Dundas, had been a fellow-labourer with our hero in the public cause, and the friend of his early years was not forgotten in the moment of adversity. It would be injustice to the memory of men who now lie in their tombs, to impugn the motives of this inquiry; but assuredly it was conducted with a severity and rancour, that, except in the case of Hastings, had no parallel. From its first institution, till the latest moment, Canning stood forward to repel the attacks of Whitbread, Tierney, Grey, Fox, and Sheridan. On the impeachment, according to parliamentary routine, he could not speak, as only the managers and counsel had that privilege; but in all the motions previous to it, we find him actively and zealously engaged.

If it were necessary to adduce proof of the petty arts to which the enemies of the ministry descended, the published account of the trial of lord Melville would afford it. In a volume of 400 pages, professing to give a report of the trial, and the motions, &c. preceding it, published by Longman, the invectives of the managers, and the attacks and vituperations of all the Oppositionists, are given at large, whilst the eloquent defences made by Canning are omitted altogether. In one case, a long speech being compressed into a single page; and in other instances, only alluded to thus: "Mr. Canning made an

animated speech." These tricks become doubly disgraceful, emanating as they do from the party who are always the first to raise an outcry, if any unfair advantage is taken of them, and who are so earnestly impugning the doctrine of "*audi alteram partem.*"

Upon the motion of the 8th of April, Mr. Canning spoke at length; and from this speech, *not* published in the pretended account of the Inquiry, a few extracts may prove acceptable.

Mr. Canning said, "After the speech I have just heard, from the high authority of the honourable gentleman whom I have succeeded in the office I now hold,—and considering that the present question relates peculiarly to that department of administration with which I am most intimately connected,—I feel particularly anxious to deliver my sentiments on this occasion. The House, in its usual love of justice, will give an opportunity to inquire whether the whole of the charge now exhibited against the noble lord may not be done away with, or is capable of being done away with? And if they think so, they cannot possibly vote for the motion proposed by the honourable gentleman. But what is the alternative?—That the House shall come to a final determination on the subject, by which all possibility of explanation will be excluded. Now, upon this matter, I cannot help saying, that the mode proposed by my right honourable friend is the true way to answer the purposes of justice, by instituting an inquiry, with all the circumstances of the case on both sides, which hitherto has not been done. But the right honourable gentleman who spoke last has stated to the House, that the mode proposed by the original motion was recommended by a late precedent, in the proceedings of the House on the subject of the Middlesex election. In that case, the House decided not to proceed

in the examination of evidence at the bar, but took up the case on the report of a committee, and adopted its statement, upon the ground that the evidence which was adduced before the committee was upon oath, and that which was to be heard at the bar must be without oath,—that the case was the same here, for that the evidence before the committee of naval inquiry was upon oath; but if the House heard any further evidence upon that subject, they must take it without that sanction. Now, begging pardon of the right honourable gentleman, the two cases have no common nature, or indeed any resemblance to each other.

"The decision on the late case of the Middlesex election, in which the House adopted the report of the committee, and concluded upon it, without hearing further evidence, did not turn on the point of difference between evidence upon oath, and that which was taken without that sanction,—but, upon the principle that the parties charged with misconduct had been fully heard, had been allowed all the forms, and, what is better than all forms, the substance of a fair trial. They were called upon to answer; they knew the charge,—had heard all the evidence in support of it,—had actually examined that evidence, and were heard by counsel as to the effect of that evidence; and it appeared, upon a full investigation of the case, that the party had nothing to say in answer to the charge,—they were found guilty, because their guilt was fully substantiated after they had been fully heard. But the present is the reverse of that case;—for here the parties have not been heard, and all that is now asked is a full hearing. I put it to the House, and indeed to the gentlemen opposite me, whether it is fair to call on the House to convict the party without a hearing, which has not yet been had? What will bring the point more dis-

tinctly before the minds of those whom I have now the honour of addressing, is this,—that no part of the case now before the House on this report, is matter originally intended by the course of examination taken by the committee; but it came out accidentally, and it is no part of the object of the committee to try the noble lord who is the object of the present motion for any thing; and therefore it is, from the nature of things, absolutely impossible that he can have had a fair trial, since indeed hitherto he has had no trial.

"The right honourable gentleman who spoke last, observed, that, in former times, a committee, on the model of which this was formed, had made many wise regulations; and that the Act, which is now the subject of the consideration of the House of Commons, passed without further investigation than that of the perusal of the report of the committee on which it was founded. This may be;—but I believe the right honourable gentleman cannot show me any regulation of parliament by which any individual has been condemned, without having had an opportunity of defending himself. And here the case is most singularly hard; for it is the case of an individual knowing for the first time, from the report now said to be conclusive, the nature of the charge that is exhibited against him.

"I am speaking now of lord Melville,—for I understand that noble lord is the only person against whom the gentlemen on the other side of the House are pressing. From the complicated accounts brought, without notice to his lordship, before the committee, the guilt of that noble lord is to be inferred; and he is said to have had a fair trial; and the House is called upon to confirm that assertion, without having at all investigated the case! This application to the House is repugnant to the

principles of justice.—But then the right honourable gentleman stated, that an Act of Parliament has in this case been violated, by the application of public money to other uses than those specified by the Act.

"Now, I will venture to say, that this violation of the Act of Parliament is a point by no means so clear as some gentlemen affect to state it. But, on the contrary, I believe that doubts may be very reasonably entertained upon that subject. I wish to guard against being misunderstood. When I say that the Act is not so clear upon this point, as it seems to be conceived by some gentlemen,—I am not hereby to be regarded as the champion of illegal defiance to the rules of law, or an imitator of such a practice. *I know that laws, even if unwise, must be obeyed while they are in full force.*"

After this, Mr. Canning proceeded to enter into the minutiæ of the case, and concluded thus—

"If I thought a case was made out against his lordship, I should not lift up my voice against the motion; but lord Melville does not, I think, ask too much, when he begs this honourable House not to suffer itself, by prejudice within, or intimidation from clamour without, to take upon itself to decide, without full and competent information on the subject before them."

On the 10th of April, Whitbread moved the reading of the resolutions, and took occasion to inquire of Mr. Canning, if Trotter and Wilson had been dismissed, and reprobated in strong terms the retention of the last-named gentleman, and concluded by moving—"That a humble address might be presented to his Majesty, praying the removal of lord Melville from all offices held under the crown, and from his Majesty's *presence* and councils for ever."

This was a severe blow, and it called forth all the

energies of friendship. It seems scarcely credible, that any being could have been so lost to justice, as to deny a place, in a report of this inquiry, to the following speech; but certain it is, that it is passed over with a mere reference, by the compilers of the accounts of that proceeding.

The speech gained much from the solemn and energetic mode of Mr. Canning's delivery, and was ably replied to by Grey and Ponsonby; but they did not succeed in removing the impression he made upon the many who had taken up the mere prejudices of a party, without investigation or reflection.

"Mr. Speaker,—However strongly the honourable gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Whitbread) has expressed his desire that the House should on this occasion attend merely to the call of impartial justice; and however desirous he may have been of disclaiming any other motives for the course he has pursued, than what proceeded from a wish to establish an example, such as may effectually prevent the recurrence of the like mischiefs and irregularities in future; I cannot help thinking, and I am pretty confident that many of those who have heard the honourable gentleman's speech are of the same opinion, that, notwithstanding his professions of moderation, he has introduced such topics, and spoken in such a tone, as prove him to have been actuated by something more than the motives alleged, and indicate something much more bitter than appears to be warranted by the nature of the case under consideration. Gracious God! what measure of justice would the honourable gentleman deal out in this case? What is his object? In the interval that has elapsed since the House last separated, lord Melville has, in deference to the decision of this House, thought proper to resign the high office which he held in his Majesty's councils; and yet

this ready compliance with your vote is stated by the honourable gentleman as an article of aggravation in the charges against the noble lord. The honourable gentleman has made that act of the noble lord a ground of accusation against him, and seems to have considered his deference to the authority of the House in the light of a subterfuge to evade or disappoint justice. What would have been the feelings and the animadversions of the honourable gentleman,—what his expressions of indignation and resentment,—if the House had met this day lord Melville, instead of bowing to its decision, still continuing to hold the office of first lord of the admiralty? *(A cry of hear! hear!)* Would he not have made that the ground of further and increased invective? *(Still a loud cry of hear!)* I take it for granted, from the symptoms on the other side of the House, that the gentlemen there assent to these assertions; they would have considered lord Melville's continuance in office as an aggravation of his guilt; and yet they now condemn him for his prompt acquiescence in their wish. What course, then, is lord Melville to pursue, to avoid their wrath, if what he has done, according to the notification of my right honourable friend, be made the ground of invective against him? And is this to be taken as a specimen of the fairness of the motives upon which gentlemen boast of acting, and of their impartiality in acting upon them? Sir, the honourable gentleman has applied to me for information, whether I have dismissed Mr. Trotter from the employment which he held under me in the navy pay office? I have told him that I have done so. After the decision of the House on Monday night, I could not have a moment's hesitation. Some gentlemen thought proper, on a former evening, to animadvert, in terms of severity, on my having retained Mr. Trotter in office, after the accusations, relative to

which the House have decided, had been published against him. But of my conduct, in that instance, I trust every candid man will approve. Mr. Trotter I considered on his trial; and, whatever my own opinion might have been of the nature of the charge against him, and the degree of his guilt, it struck me that it would be extremely unfair to prejudice the public mind against his case, by dismissing him under such circumstances. He stood in such a situation that I could not feel it consistent with public justice, to fix a seal of infamy upon the man, by dismissing him while his trial was pending. But the moment the sense of this House was known, when I no longer could prejudice a man whose guilt, till declared by a competent tribunal, I should have felt it unfair to prejudge by any act of mine, I removed Mr. Trotter; and my reasons for not removing him before that sense was known, will, I have no doubt, be deemed satisfactory by every dispassionate mind.—Nay, I have little doubt, that although a learned gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) remarked with such severity on my conduct on a former evening, that honourable gentleman himself will, upon a little reflection, if he possess the mind and feelings of a British lawyer, be ready to confess that he was wrong, and that to have taken a different course from that which I have pursued, would have been unfair, tyrannical, and oppressive. With regard to Mr. Wilson, who holds a secondary station in the navy pay office—to him I do not conceive that any imputation attaches, that would warrant me in acting towards him in the manner which the honourable gentleman desires. On the contrary, I consider Mr. Wilson to be one of the most industrious and deserving servants of the public. But, says the honourable gentleman, Mr. Wilson is reported by the commissioners as having given a reluctant

testimony; as having refused to answer questions, lest they should tend to criminate himself. Sir, the conduct of Mr. Wilson before the commissioners of naval inquiry has been thus explained to me; and not to me only, but, if I am not much misinformed, to the naval commissioners themselves. I speak in the presence of one of them, (sir C. Pole,) who will correct me if I am wrong, though they have not thought fit to report that part of Mr. Wilson's evidence. Mr. Wilson acted occasionally, in the absence of the paymaster, and used to sign drafts in the usual form on the bank, for the money wanted for the office. If there was any legal guilt in the manner of executing this part of the duty of the paymaster,—and that there was legal guilt in it must not now be doubted, since the House has so decided,—Mr. Wilson, so far as he acted in this respect for the principal, participated in that legal guilt, and was liable, or thought himself liable, to whatever might be the legal consequences of it. That he had ever acted with a view to private emolument, has not been supposed or charged against him. His evidence upon oath expressly denies that imputation. The share which he had had, as substitute for another, in a practice pronounced illegal, Mr. Wilson naturally supposed would implicate him in the penalties applicable to the illegality of the transaction; and on that ground alone he declined to answer the interrogatories of the commissioners. But, although the charge of legal guilt might attach to this man, I believe that he is perfectly free from any imputation on the score of morality. Still, though I entertain this opinion of Mr. Wilson, if this House pronounced a different opinion, I should bow to its authority, and remove him from office. But no such opinion has been declared, and I think him not at all fairly implicated in the guilt attributed to the

transaction which led to this discussion. Why then should I comply with the wish expressed by the honourable gentleman? or with what justice could I sacrifice a man whom I conscientiously believe to be innocent, to suspicion or to clamour; unless some new evidence should arise, or some competent tribunal should pronounce Mr. Wilson guilty? I have not, I cannot have, any personal partiality for Mr. Wilson, whom I know only as a clerk in my office: but I will mete out a different measure of justice to this or any other man whom circumstances may place in my power, to what the honourable gentleman seems disposed to show to lord Melville. But to return to the question; the honourable gentleman has now renewed all the unfairness, and apparently forgotten and thrown aside all the fairness and moderation, of which he thought it necessary to assume the semblance at least in the last debate. He has resorted to every means of aggravating his charge: he has collected every circumstance that could tend to give an unfavourable impression against the object of his accusation, and has even construed the act which was a mark of the noble lord's deference to the House, and of his humiliation, into an aggravation of his criminality. The honourable gentleman at one time calls particular parts of the tenth report dark and doubtful, which at another time he assumes to furnish clear and glaring evidence to aggravate the guilt of lord Melville. And he has travelled not only out of the charge itself, but out of the report, into the whole range of party politics, into the history of every action of lord Melville's political life, to collect topics, which have no natural relation to the subject properly before the House, and all calculated obviously to inflame the passions upon a charge which its advocates term an appeal to justice.

"The honourable gentleman tells you, that the motion this night is nothing more than a confirmation of the vote of the former night. But the vote of the former night, as amended, only declared that the noble lord had violated the law, but it did not charge him with having done so for private emolument. You have indeed recorded your opinion that lord Melville has been guilty of a violation of the Act of Parliament, in consequence of which certain advantages have resulted to another person. But you have not said that the noble lord has had any participation of such advantages, nor does any thing appear to justify such an inference. I trust, therefore, that when the honourable gentleman so triumphantly declares his conviction that the House cannot act inconsistently with itself, that it will not disappoint the just expectations of the country; I trust, sir, he will not find himself mistaken. The House will follow up the vote of last night with consistency—that is, in the same sense and spirit in which that vote was given. The House will not disappoint the opinion which the country has conceived of its justice, temper, and wisdom, by first voting a man guilty of a lesser offence, (I do not mean to vindicate lord Melville, or extenuate the infraction of the law for which you have held him responsible; but an offence merely legal is less in the eyes of every man than the gross moral guilt which the honourable gentleman would now impute to him, and which he would fain persuade you, contrary to your own knowledge and recollection, you meant to impute to him yourselves,) and then turning round and apportioning the punishment, not to the crime of which it has found lord Melville guilty, but to all the foul aspersions and aggravated charges which the honourable gentleman has in this stage of the business thought it decent to heap upon him; to

which charges the House is no party; and which it not only did not sanction by its vote of the last night, but upon deliberation refused to agree to even an ambiguous and doubtful affirmation of them.

"The honourable gentleman has disclaimed any other motive for his motion this night but a view to public justice. What has been already done towards that end? Is the state of humiliation to which the noble lord has been reduced, nothing? Is such an end to such a political life, nothing? Has not the noble lord already suffered quite enough to disarm any set of men, not actuated by the most rancorous feeling of party enmity? And against whom is this enmity directed? Against one who never was himself suspected of deserving the character of a bitter political antagonist. In any of the public situations which lord Melville has occupied, I would challenge any man to produce an instance where party prejudice has been found to obstruct, or delay, or influence the promotion of merit, whether political or military.

"Sir, the honourable gentleman has congratulated his country on the extraordinary public virtue which has been manifested on this occasion. If he means the virtue displayed by the House of Commons, I cordially agree with him. Whatever I may have presumed to think of the vote of Monday night, as hasty or premature, no man more heartily than I subscribes to the purity and integrity of the motives which dictated it. If the honourable gentleman means to compliment himself on the part which he has taken, or the part which he this night takes, in urging the House to a rigour beyond the measure of justice, and, I venture to affirm, beyond the measure of its own feelings of what is right; I am far from presuming to deny his claim to that credit, for an exertion of virtue beyond the ordinary rate of most

men's capacity, and beyond the usual practice of the country and the times in which we live.

"The honourable gentleman must have gone far back into the times of ancient Greece and Rome, to find models of that sort of virtue. There he will have found, no doubt, that when a great political delinquent was to be brought to justice, and an appeal made to the people, to aggravate the severity of punishment, the accuser was not generally found among those who had received any injury from the accused, but among those whom he had served. And, sir, when I look back to the proceedings of this House in the year 1795, when I recollect the serious charges which were then brought forward against two most eminent commanders, now members of the other House of Parliament (and for their services well entitled to that distinction); when I recollect that in the debates which arose upon those charges, their most active defender, their most indefatigable advocate, was that very noble lord who now is made the theme of the honourable gentleman's violence and invective; and when I see that noble lord, now no longer a minister, already pulled down from the high eminence on which he stood, and prostrate at the feet of the House of Commons, no longer formidable from power or dangerous from influence; when I see him now, after his political existence has ceased, after the crimes of his political nature (be they what they may,) have been severely visited upon him; when I see him now in this defenceless state, persecuted and hunted down,—and by whom? by the friends of sir John Jervis and the kindred of sir Charles Grey;—I cannot, sir, refuse to the honourable gentleman the praise of Spartan inflexibility, of more than Roman virtue.—But, while humbly and at a distance I admire the exertion of these high qualities in him, I pray to Al-

mighty God to spare me the pain of being ever called upon to imitate his example!"

When urged again, on the 25th, to discharge Wilson, he replied—

"I cannot reconcile it to *my* ideas of justice, to dismiss one against whom no *decision* of this House has taken place. I am sensible that in following this course I subject myself to odium and abuse. I shall endure it. When this House declares its opinion fairly, I shall submit to it; till that period arrives, Wilson shall not, in the absence of any proof of his guilt, be dismissed from his situation. I shall never, either by my voice or by my conduct, patronise the tyrannical, despotic principle of punishment previous to conviction."

This language was stigmatized as that of presumption and insolence; but it was afterwards acknowledged to be the manly declaration of one who was fitted to govern, as he was equally inaccessible to the loud voice of clamour,—the whisper of insinuation,—the cry of prejudice,—or the assaults of ill-deserved reproach.

It is impossible to describe the efforts of our hero at this juncture of the business. He stood, Atlas like, with the defence upon his shoulders, and the whole of the Opposition found, that though many might harass by their attack, numbers in such a conflict could not ensure victory.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Whitbread's motion was again agitated; and, on that occasion, the chancellor of the exchequer stated that he had a communication to make to the House, which was to the following effect:—"That his Majesty had been advised that the name of lord Melville should be struck out of the list of the privy council, and that accordingly it would be erased on the first day that a council should be held."

On the 11th of June, the speaker having stated that he had received a letter from lord Melville, announcing his readiness to attend and be examined, relative to the report of the commissioners of navy inquiry,—the sergeant at mace was despatched to inform him he might come in; and, on entering, a chair was placed for him within the bar. It is not material, nor would it be in furtherance of the object of this work, to give lord Melville's speech; it is sufficient to state, that his lordship denied having any knowledge of Mr. Trotter's investing money in the stocks,—of his discounting bills with it,—or of his turning it to purposes of private advantage; and that, if any such practice had existed, it was altogether without his privity or consent.

Mr. Whitbread, after lord Melville had retired, spoke at some length; and concluded by moving, "that it was the opinion of the House, that lord Melville had been guilty of several high crimes and misdemeanors, and ought to be impeached for the same."

Mr. Canning voted for the impeachment, as the last means of clearing the reputation of his friend. Lord Melville was tried in Westminster Hall; the trial continued from the 29th of April, to 17th of May, 1806. On the 12th of June following, his lordship's guilt or innocence was put to the vote,—when lord Melville was acquitted, by a large majority, on all the charges: on the fifth charge, by a majority of 127; and on the second, by a majority of 23, (the lowest majorities.) Their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Sussex, Cumberland, and Cambridge, all voted on this occasion, —his present Majesty did not.

On the Catholic question, agitated in 1805, Mr. Canning did not speak.

England had scarcely lost her Nelson, when she was

doomed to sustain another and a severer blow. That naval hero had gone to his dreamless sleep, when the battles of his country were fought and won,—he had no more to do; but Pitt died when the country required his services. Pitt expired on the 23d of January, 1806,—and died in poverty;—this fact is alone his eulogium. Wesley, the celebrated preacher, is reported to have said, that if he left £5 behind him, he would give society leave to stigmatize him as a robber. A minister dying in poverty, (whose habits were never profuse,) at least may prove that cupidity was no part of his nature; and that, if he did not serve his country, he had no thoughts of impoverishing it.

On the 1st of February, a motion was made for the payment of Pitt's debts (about £40,000). The speeches of Fox and Canning on this subject were both remarkable, and as that of the former is brief, it is here incorporated. Mr. Fox spoke as follows:—

"I never felt more satisfaction than in giving my support to this testimony of the consideration of a great and rich nation for the merits of an eminent servant. The mode of introducing it, leaves me no difficulty in giving it the support I wished. I rise in consequence of some observations that have fallen from some gentlemen most earnest in support of the motion.—Among other expressions, I have heard that of 'Saviour.'

"With respect to this, I must say, I retain all my former opinions; or, if any change has taken place in them, it is in consequence of the situation of the country in the years 1803 and 1804, which rendered it essential to the public interest and public safety, that the differences of former times, and the animosities they had given rise to, should be buried in oblivion. When the right honourable gentleman now no more, proposed that I should

have a large share in the administration, it would have been in the highest degree indelicate in me to agitate these questions. Mr. Pitt felt the same kind of delicacy. I hope the House will do me the justice to think, that as I was unwilling to touch upon these topics while Mr. Pitt was living, I am doubly unwilling to touch upon them, at least so much as relates to Mr. Pitt personally, now that he is no more. I am not now going to touch upon them, nor will I ever; but I beg to be understood not to be influenced by any regard to myself, when I resolve to abstain so religiously from these topics. I know not if Mr. Pitt thought in the same way of me; but I always thought, with respect to Mr. Pitt, that he would form a distinguished part of any administration framed with a view to the advantage of the country; and, on this ground, I wish discord to cease. I have not had a distinct opportunity of showing my sense of that wish; Mr. Pitt had, and he expressed it distinctly.

"To speak of Mr. Pitt as disinterested, in not touching the public money, is certainly an insult; but to abstain from making money from his office, which he fairly might;—to have been in office twenty years, and in that time to have had no place of profit but the Cinque Ports, was disinterestedness not to be paralleled in any minister within my memory,—I believe not in any since the accession of the house of Brunswick. This it is that I wish to reward, nor have I any fear that the example will have any pernicious effect."

Mr. Canning's speech on this subject was, perhaps, the most rash one he ever delivered, at the same time it did honour to his feelings; he was piqued by the condescension of the oppositionists, and his respect for the fame of the deceased statesman carried him beyond the bounds of prudence.

"Mr. Speaker,—I rise in the hope that, in the little I have to say on this subject, I shall not deviate from the candour and moderation so laudably proposed on the other side, but used, at the same time, as a veil to throw over one or two propositions, in which I do not agree. Some of the gentlemen are willing to allow Parliament to discharge the debts of my late friend, as a matter of generosity towards an old public servant. I wish it to be known, however, that *the friends* of that illustrious person will not be satisfied to receive this vote as an eleemosynary grant to posthumous necessities,—not as a boon of pity or compassion,—but as a public debt to a highly meritorious public servant. I did not, from the beginning, expect an unanimous vote;—I will not purchase unanimity by conceding a tittle of the services of that illustrious man.

"I appeal to the House, whether it was not on the other side that the topics of discussion were started? Objections are made to the form of the former motion. The fault I find with it is, that it is cold and inadequate to the feelings of those who support it.

"When the friends of this great man consented to neutralise the expressions of their feelings, for the purpose of removing the grounds of opposition to the motion;—when they resolved, instead of dipping the pen into the heart, to look into the statute book for a precedent:—when they had lowered and diluted every glowing feeling;—when they had restrained and chastised the warmth of their affections, in order to constitute unanimity;—the result has added to the many proofs I have seen in the course of my political life, that nothing is to be gained by compromise. Now, the honourable gentlemen canvass particular acts, and thus agitate topics which were omitted to avoid creating discussion.

"I have no desire to go farther back, than to show that the agitation of the objects of dissension originated on the other side. It was expected that this question would have been generally supported—that all political differences would have ceased—and that all animosities would have been buried. That brilliant luminary that was before us, whether its dawn was clouded, or its meridian splendour obscured, has held a glorious course for the country, and is worthy to call forth its admiration and gratitude.

"I protest against the mode in which the honourable gentlemen give their support to the motion. I wish to restore to them the benefit of that consistency which they labour so much to reconcile with the support they give. I give credit to him who refuses his consent, because he does not see merit; but I cannot see the ground on which those opposite follow a distinct course. If the sum is to be given as an eleemosynary grant, without any distinctions of merit or demerit, I disdain it. Those who do not vote for it on the ground of Mr. Pitt's merits, had better oppose it openly. It is only as a tribute to great merits, that I will receive it; and if any one supports it on any other ground than as a testimony and a reward for those merits, I wish him to withdraw his support, and preserve his consistency, by opposing it."

The statesman who had introduced Canning to public service, remained the object of his praise long after the ear of the orator was deaf to any earthly voice. Shortly after Pitt's death, the following eulogy from the pen of our hero was published. The character of one great statesman drawn by another, is at least a literary curiosity.

"WILLIAM PITT.

"The character of this illustrious statesman early passed its ordeal. Scarcely had he attained the age at

which reflection commences, than Europe with astonishment beheld him filling the first place in the councils of his country, and managing the vast mass of its concerns, with all the vigour and steadiness of the most matured wisdom. Dignity—strength—discretion—these were among the masterly qualities of his mind at its first dawn. He had been nurtured a statesman, and his knowledge was of that kind which always lay ready for practical application. Not dealing in the subtleties of abstract politics, but moving in the slow, steady procession of reason, his conceptions were reflective, and his views correct. Habitually attentive to the concerns of government, he spared no pains to acquaint himself with whatever was connected, however minutely, with its prosperity. He was devoted to the state. Its interests engrossed all his study, and engaged all his care. It was the element alone in which he seemed to live and move. He allowed himself but little recreation from his labours. His mind was always on its station, and its activity was unremitted.

" He did not hastily adopt a measure, nor hastily abandon it. The plan struck out by him for the preservation of Europe, was the result of prophetic wisdom and profound policy. But, though defeated in many respects by the selfish ambition and short-sighted imbecility of foreign powers, whose rulers were too venal or too weak to follow the flight of that mind which would have taught them to outwing the storm—the policy involved in it has still a secret operation on the conduct of surrounding states. His plans were full of energy, and the principles which inspired them looked beyond the consequences of the hour.

" In a period of change and convulsion the most perilous in the history of Great Britain, when sedition

stalked abroad, and when the emissaries of France, and the abettors of her regicide factions, formed a league powerful from their number, and formidable by their talent—in that awful crisis—the promptitude of his measures saved his country.

"He knew nothing of that timid and wavering cast of mind which dares not abide by its own decision. He never suffered popular prejudice or party clamour to turn him aside from any measure which his deliberate judgment had adopted. He had a proud reliance on himself, and it was justified. Like the sturdy warrior leaning on his own battle-axe, conscious where his strength lay, he did not readily look beyond it.

"As a debater in the House of Commons, his speeches were logical and argumentative; if they did not often abound in the graces of metaphor, or sparkle with the brilliancy of wit, they were always animated, elegant, and classical. The strength of his oratory was intrinsic, it presented the rich and abundant resource of a clear discernment and a correct taste. His speeches are stamped with inimitable marks of originality. When replying to his opponents, his readiness was not more conspicuous than his energy. He was always prompt, and always dignified. He could sometimes have recourse to the sportiveness of irony; but he did not often seek any other aid than was to be derived from an arranged and extensive knowledge of his subject. This qualified him fully to discuss the arguments of others, and forcibly to defend his own. Thus armed, it was rarely in the power of his adversaries, mighty as they were, to beat him from the field. His eloquence, occasionally rapid—electric—and vehement—was always chaste—winning—and persuasive—not awing into acquiescence, but arguing into conviction. His under-

standing was bold and comprehensive. Nothing seemed too remote for its reach, or too large for its grasp.

"Unallured by dissipation, and unswayed by pleasure, he never sacrificed the national treasure to the one, or the national interest to the other. To his unswerving integrity the most authentic of all testimony is to be found, in that unbounded public confidence which followed him throughout the whole of his political career.

"Absorbed, as he was, in the pursuits of public life, he did not neglect to prepare himself in silence for that higher destination, which is at once the incentive and reward of human virtue. His talents, superior and splendid as they were, never made him forgetful of that eternal wisdom from which they emanated. The faith and fortitude of his last moments were affecting and exemplary."

The death of Pitt changed the views of politicians throughout England. It was the signal for victory on the side of Fox, and of declining power on that of the late minister's party.

His Majesty having sent for lord Grenville, that nobleman was commissioned by the King to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration.

The names of the new ministers soon appeared in "The Gazette." The Cabinet Ministers, eleven in number, consisted of lords Erskine, Grenville, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Moira, Sidmouth, and Ellenborough; lord Henry Petty, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Grey. Lord Grenville succeeded Mr. Pitt as first lord of the treasury, and lord Henry Petty as chancellor of the exchequer.

Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed president of the council, in the room of lord Camden; and viscount Sidmouth

succeeded the earl of Westmoreland as lord of the privy seal.

Mr. Fox became secretary of the foreign office, which had been held by lord Mulgrave; general Fitzpatrick succeeded Mr. William Dundas as secretary of war; and Mr. Wyndham, lord Castlereagh, in the department of war and colonies.

In the home department, lord Hawkesbury's successor was earl Spencer.

Mr. Erskine was made a baron, by the title of lord Erskine, and was presented with the great seal of England, which had been held by lord Eldon.

Mr. Grey was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, over which lord Barham had last presided.

The mastership of the ordnance was conferred on earl Moira.

Mr. Sheridan succeeded Mr. Canning as treasurer of the navy; the duke of Bedford, lord Hardwicke, in the government of Ireland.

Earl St. Vincent, with powers of a very superior and comprehensive description, was appointed to the command of the Channel fleet; and lords Minto and Auckland presided respectively over the boards of controul and trade.

This administration received the appellation of "All the Talents;" used in eulogy by their friends, in ridicule by their enemies. Mr. Canning of course immediately went into opposition. It is difficult to say what qualities constitute an able minister, but it is very easy to discover what habits do not assimilate with that character. It is not requisite that the Premier of this country should be a man of genius; a man of talent he must be. It is not meant to be insisted that genius unfits an individual for the office, but that it is not one of the attributes

essential to it. Notwithstanding his powers as an orator, or the greatness of his schemes as a politician, posterity will not recognise Pitt as a man of genius; clearness of comprehension and an analytical mind, seldom accompany that quality; these Pitt had in perfection, without that fiery spirit which, being boundless itself, often carries its possessor beyond the realms of prudence—perhaps of reason.

The new administration boasted of three men of genius, for that title has never been denied to Fox, Erskine, or Sheridan; but the warmest friends of these great men have admitted, that, collectively or individually, they were not men of business. However insignificant or inappropriate this term may seem, when applied to legislation, a little reflection convinces us of its propriety. A minister must, in the most literal signification of the phrase, be a man of business. The private habits of two of these great men, all the world were acquainted with. We know that Pitt would retire, in the midst of a warm debate, and enliven his faculties with a couple of bottles of port. Pitt's constitution enabled him to do this with impunity; he was afflicted with what he called a coldness of stomach; and this quantity of wine, that would have closed the oratory of so professed a bacchanalian as Sheridan, scarcely excited the son of Chatham.

Pitt had no erratic habits—the new ministers abounded in them. It may seem frivolous to descend to a notice of the peculiarities of individuals; but when those persons have undertaken to rule a country, a mention of their foibles becomes justice to the nation whilst they are living, and matter of curious record when they are no more. Lord Erskine, among other singularities, had a propensity for witnessing fires, and has been known to

leave the House of Commons, in the midst of a debate, on hearing that a conflagration was to be witnessed within a mile. Sheridan said, that a chimney could not smoke in the Borough, without Erskine's knowledge; yet he, who jested on the innocent folly of the new chancellor, had more marked peculiarities of his own. Moore, who sheds the light of his own genius over all he touches, and who illumines if he cannot aggrandise, has thrown a false light over the character of Sheridan; to use a coarse but powerful quotation, "He stuck his pen in his heart." He told us what Sheridan should have been, rather than what he was; gave us a beau ideal of that great man, instead of the reality. It is not to censure Mr. Moore that this is stated. We know how friendship and admiration pervert the judgment. We know, too, the distresses, the sorrows of Sheridan, awakening, as they did, the compassion even of his enemies, must have worked strongly upon the feelings of his friends. Moore, in one of his exquisite songs, has said—

> "When cold in the earth lies the friend that you loved,
> *Be his faults and his follies* FORGOT by *thee*, then."

This amiable maxim, according fully with our feelings of friendship, is destructive of biography. It is a beautiful scion from the ancient stock—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum;* and it is not necessary to waste an argument in refutation of such a maxim. We are willing to draw a veil over the *particulars* of Sheridan's misconduct, but, surely, he who had not enough discretion (shall we say, honesty,) to repay a borrowed guinea in private life, was not fit to be trusted with the employment of millions in a public capacity; or, merging the question of honour and honesty altogether, and admitting Sheridan's reputation to be stainless, he who was incapable of managing or un-

derstanding the petty details of his own domestic economy, could scarcely be supposed to be adequate to the intricacies of national expenditure. Fox, as well as Sheridan, was a splendid orator, but oratory is not the first attribute for a minister; Great Britain requires men to act, not to speak. Fox was, with reference to his party, a good theoretical statesman, not a practical one. He would frame schemes of immense magnitude, and of singular originality; those schemes would have tended to the amelioration of many national evils, and to the general welfare of his country, but, unfortunately, they were impracticable. "All the Talents" were remarkable for those bell-the-cat manœuvres, which were instantly destroyed, by the obvious question,—who is to tie it on?

Among the instances that are on record, of the habits of business of some of his Majesty's ministers, we record the following:—A nobleman, whose name we, for obvious reasons, omit to mention, but who held a high official situation about forty years since, was applied to on behalf of a lad, who had been condemned to death for setting fire to a barn, and left for execution. Great doubts were reasonably entertained of his guilt;—a petition for a remission of the punishment, or, at least, a commutation of it, was prepared—and the nobleman above alluded to undertook to deliver it to his Majesty. His lordship went out hunting, and forgot it; and only recollected the circumstance, when he found the petition in his pocket, some hours after the unfortunate youth had suffered on the scaffold.* We repeat, that we would draw no inference from this circumstance against his

* Mr. L. T. Rede, whom we have already referred to, in the early part of this work, was counsel for the unfortunate culprit, and died in the belief of his innocence.

lordship *as a man*, but we must as a minister. When a human being's life is in jeopardy, can forgetfulness be forgiven. When a man (innocent, it may be,) has suffered an ignominious death, is it to be endured, that an official personage shall say—"I forgot to advise his Majesty to grant his respite."

Of Erskine's capabilities for the office of chancellor, it is useless to speak. His best friends regretted to see him in a situation where his want of knowledge became daily exposed; whilst for his great talent, oratory, he had no chance of display.

Mr. Canning showed, instantly, the determined spirit of opposition, and now felt, that, as Pitt was no more, the hopes of his party rested on himself.

The first subject of importance, on which we find our hero engaged, was the consideration of the propriety of admitting a chief justice to be one of the Cabinet Ministers. Lord Mansfield was the instance quoted, as a precedent for the appointment of lord Ellenborough. In the House of Lords it was opposed by lords Eldon, Borington, and Mulgrave, and defended warmly by lord Grenville, who declared, that he *alone* was responsible for advising his Majesty to call lord Ellenborough to his councils. In the Lower House, after a long eulogy on lord Ellenborough by Mr. Bond, Mr. Canning rose to reply. An extract from his speech is sufficient.

"The pure administration of justice is the greatest blessing which this country has to boast; the peculiar advantage of our constitution, which has stood unimpaired amidst the shock of parties, and survived and flourished even amidst the troubles and distractions of rebellion; the salutary effects of which nothing, I hope, will be done this day to disturb. The noble lord, who is the immediate object of the motion, is in the administra-

tion of an office that requires all the intelligence and all the feelings of which man is capable. What I particularly complain of is, that the bench of justice, instead of being looked up to as the summit of elevation the law affords, is to be, by the precedent of the noble lord's appointment, constituted the spring of a new ambition, from which those who have obtained it are to start forward on a new career. Henceforth the study of the law will be cultivated for the attainment of a chief justice's seat, merely as a step in the ladder of promotion, and as facilitating the access to greater honours.

"This is an evil so great to the constitution, that it cannot establish itself without the utmost mischief. It is no objection that it is not to be found directly prohibited; it is an evil so striking, that every mind must be impressed with a sense of it; and, if it is not checked by this motion, it will at least be ultimately mended by the reflections to which the discussion of this night will give rise. It is essential to the administration of justice, that a judge shall not be called upon to decide, on his judgment seat, what he had already decided on in the Cabinet as a minister; this mischief is particularly likely to happen in the case of prosecutions for libels on the government. There is no excuse for the appointment, but necessity or expediency. There is no necessity in this case, and the expediency is far from being such as to warrant the proceeding. There is no analogy between the situation of chief justice in the Cabinet and the lord chancellor;—the one is removable from his office at the pleasure of the crown, or by address from both Houses of Parliament. But would the chief justice be removed for having given bad advice as a minister; or would he, because he was a judge, be tolerated as a minister, after having given such advice?

"As the privileges of Parliament, and the rights of the people are valued, this association is to be deprecated. It is to be deprecated, also, in regard to the prerogative of the Crown, to which nothing is more hostile than a removable Cabinet.

"The noble lord is in a situation to do honour to himself, and essential service to the country, by the steady application of the talents which he undoubtedly possesses; but if the whole benefit of the talents of the highest individual, as a Cabinet Minister, was summed up, it would, in my opinion, be dearly purchased, by one hour's suspicion of any deficiency in the administration of justice."

On the motion for the repeal of the Additional Force Act, Mr. Canning spoke with his usual talent, and evinced a knowledge of the subject really surprising; but his speech had too much reference to localities, to be *now* read with interest. He moved an amendment, which was negatived; and Fox then rose, and amidst other observations, made the following remark:—

"The right honourable gentleman has displayed no little share of dexterity, in evading the discussion of the only question before the House. I admit his speech was a most able one, but it appears to have one defect; that is, that no part of it was directed to the consideration of the Act it was proposed to repeal."

In reply to this, Mr. Canning said—"I beg leave to ask, for what purpose Mr. Wyndham has brought forward his system, if it is not intended that it should be considered by every man in the country? Is a system, over which the whole nation are lamenting,—which has filled with alarm and dismay every man in it,—to be passed over in silence. If a man proposes a series of resolutions, and concludes a four hours' speech with moving the first of

them, are we to be debarred from considering the whole? The right honourable gentleman is much mistaken, if he supposes there is any shyness on this side to encounter his system, than which there could be nothing more preposterous and absurd;—a system calculated to shake the whole of our military establishment—to produce dissatisfaction in the army—to make it doubt of the propriety of its existence; a system——"

At this portion of Mr. Canning's speech, lord Temple rose to order, and stated that he did conceive the language employed by the right honourable gentleman not fit to be attributed to a proposition brought forward by any member of the House, much less to a member of his Majesty's government. On this, Mr. Canning rose in considerable heat, and replied as follows.

"I trust, Mr. Speaker, we are not come to those times when a strong government, which shall be unable to answer an argument, shall be able to put it down. I trust, sir, that we are not to have silence imposed upon us in this House. I do hope that the noble lord, and those who are connected with him in his Majesty's government, will not deprive us of the liberty of speech;—that we shall be allowed the freedom of discussing their measures. I do hope that the noble lord does not mean to have recourse to a plan of which I have formerly heard. It was once observed to Mr. Burke, by a member of this House, that he was surprised Ministers, instead of debating, did not try the effect of silence in this House. To which he answered, 'that they had tried it, and they found it would not do.' So I will tell the noble lord. Why did his right honourable friend bring forward his plan before the recess, if he does not mean to proceed with it immediately? Does he mean that it should go forward, or does he not?"

Fitting out an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, was one of the last amongst the important acts of Pitt's administration. This expedition has been supposed to have originated with the then treasurer of the navy; at all events, Mr. Canning materially assisted in the arrangement of it. News of the capture of the Cape arrived in England about June, 1806. The importance of the acquisition was acknowledged by all; but, in the *then* administration, there were none willing to pay the tribute of praise to those with whom the measure originated. In fact, every thing was at this period overlooked, whilst the new ministry kept up their six months' negociation with France, for peace; which, after all, ended as it began. Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale effected nothing, and had merely been amused, whilst Buonaparte was attempting a negociation with Russia. Our ministry thought of peace, and peace only—*he* thought of it as a *dernier resort*, and made its pretence a cover for his preparations for the continuation of war. The instant the treaty was declared off, he defeated the Prussians. He followed this up by entering Hamburgh, seizing all Englishmen, and English commodities. The consternation produced by this news was only equalled by the astonishment that some, amidst "All the Talents," had not a little anticipated so obvious a movement on the part of the emperor. The complaints of America, and the consequences those complaints might involve, also agitated this kingdom. A charge against the marquis of Wellesley, governor of India, by Mr. Paul, attracted the attention of the public; and every thing appeared to combine to call for the active exertions of the new ministry. In the midst of this, Mr. Fox's health declined—he could not attend the House. This news was speedily followed by the announcement of his death.

After the funeral of Fox, whose death created a sensation inferior only to that produced by the decease of the subject of this memoir, the administration appeared to lose their power. Besides the matters we have named, the charge made against, and the trial of, general Picton, occupied the public mind—Parliament was dissolved—and the election produced a tumult unexampled in every part of the country.

The inquiry on the Queen's conduct, which commenced this year, will be noticed at a subsequent period.

On the 15th December, 1806, the new Parliament assembled. Mr. Canning spoke on this occasion, after the address had been moved. A short extract from it will prove, that it was not his intention to maintain an irritating or frivolous opposition.

"I am confident that there exists in this country resources amply sufficient to meet and brave all the difficult struggles, and to avert all the impending dangers with which we can possibly be threatened. This confidence is not founded on rashness, but on the most mature reflection; founded on the experience of the past, on the review of the present, and on the anticipation of the future.

* * * * *

"Assuredly it is in the power of any man, who has turned his attention to public affairs, even of such an humble individual as myself, to throw out suggestions to government, without the slightest intention of thwarting it, or without the most remote tendency to hurt the feelings of any of the members of which it is composed."

After some further remarks, he broke forth into an attack on the present, and eulogy of the late ministry; and concluded it by some remarks on his early friend, in these words:—

"A new Parliament is now, for the first time, about to review the transactions of an administration, composed of men of great talents, who entered upon office not ten months ago, with this particular and distinct declaration, that all who preceded them had been in the wrong; that they had 'clubbed the battalion;' that every thing required correction and amendment; that nothing was in its place; that our resources were exhausted; our credit destroyed; our faith violated; that we were unable to maintain our rank among the nations of Europe, much less to assist others in obtaining that which belonged to them. What follows? At the end of ten months, these very gentlemen say, that the resources of the country *remain unimpaired.* Those who, but ten months ago, exclaimed that they were in a state of the utmost dilapidation, now tell us—*not* that they have been *retrieved*—*not* that they have been *re-established*—but that they *remain unimpaired:*—that is, that they never have been impaired.

"It is certainly very satisfactory to every man, that even this stale tribute is paid to them, who have been formerly loaded with censure. But, surely, it is too much to expect, that any man who has ever, as I have done, regulated my conduct by—who has followed the footsteps, or who has considered the name of PITT, as connected with the glory and happiness of England, could pass this part of his Majesty's speech unnoticed."

Mr. Canning ended by the very singular and novel course of moving, *not* an amendment on the address, but a new address, with which he came prepared, and which he submitted to the House. He did not, however, press it. The address was published in the journals of 22d December, 1806, but is too long for transcription. The

circumstance is, however, worthy of record, both from its novelty and boldness.

A schism occurred in the Cabinet during this session, upon the subject of the re-introduction of the Catholic question;* lord Sidmouth having declared his determination to resign, if the subject was brought forward. Lord Grenville and lord viscount Howick had some interviews with his Majesty on the subject; the result of which was, that the question was not then agitated. The question was, however, partially renewed, by a Bill for the introduction of Catholics into the army and navy. His Majesty expressed his dissatisfaction at the conduct of his ministers, *but they did not resign;* they persisted in introducing the Bill, AND WERE DISMISSED. It is a singular fact, that the subject that caused Pitt's party to go out of office in 1801, should occasion their return in 1807.

The administration was speedily announced:—The duke of Portland, as first lord of the treasury; lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for the home, Mr. Canning for the foreign, and viscount Castlereagh for the colonial, department; and Mr. Percival, chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Eldon resumed the seals. This administration was of course assailed by the late one, and accused of entering under a pledge not to do certain acts, or propose certain measures displeasing to the Crown.—This Canning denied, and said, in reference to the debate, "that this was the first time since the reign of Charles, that the sovereign had been brought to the bar of Parliament."

On the 27th of April, Parliament was dissolved. One

* Sheridan said, in allusion to the conduct of his friends, "I have often heard of men running their heads against stone walls; but I never heard before of any persons *building* a wall, on purpose to run their heads against it."

trait of Mr. Canning's character, let us pause to notice. In the general revolution of power, a great number of *minor* places were necessarily vacated.—Sheridan's son was muster-master-general in Ireland, and, on the resignation of the Grenville party, obliged to resign.—Mr. Canning interested himself for the son of his old friend, and obtained his re-appointment.

This, and some other decided acts, serve to refute the idle slander of that day, which stated that Mr. Canning was only nominally, whilst lord Hawkesbury was actually, the foreign secretary.

Mr. Canning's powers for replying had ample room for exercise; from the time of his appointment to office, he was left singly to repel the attacks of a host of oppositionists. The records of the time are incontrovertible evidences of the truth of the assertion, that no minister had ever been engaged in so interminable a warfare of words. On one occasion, he made the observation, that some of the opposition members took their tone from a French newspaper (the *Moniteur*), "When they were run dry by a debate," said he, "when their light was quite extinguished on any question, in came a *Moniteur*, from which a spark fell upon the gloom, and rekindled the heat of their arguments." The reply that this sally drew from Mr. Ponsonby, is one striking instance of men advancing what is untrue, and what they know to be so, merely to gratify a momentary petulancy. Mr. Ponsonby said, "that the honourable secretary 'could not run dry,'—his *ideas* were not so numerous, but that they could in a moment be put in array; the man who had but *few ideas*, could readily summon them into action.—Mr. Canning was such an economist in his thoughts, and such a prodigal in words, that he could feel no embarrassment in debate; he could, upon any occasion, bring forward that

chain of words which jingles in the ear, rarely affects the understanding, and *never approaches the heart*, but which his partisans called eloquence."

This phillipic, which, spoken in anger, should not have been recorded, was eagerly reported by the whig party, and it is no less strange than true, that some of the journals* that have lately rung with the praises of the deceased Minister, at that period quoted this speech with exultation, as giving a correct view of the oratorical powers of Canning.

On Mr. Whitbread's motion for entering into a negociation for peace, he personally attacked the foreign secretary in these words:—"The petulance of Mr. Canning,—the difficulties which he is constantly raising,—the obstacles he throws in the way,—and the false constructions he is apt to fall into, prove clearly *that no negociation can be conducted by him with any reasonable chance of success.*" No remark is necessary on this extraordinary observation; it stands a brilliant memento of Whitbread's discrimination.

Mr. Whitbread followed this up by asserting "that

* On some discussion respecting the Catholics, Dr. Duigenan stated, "that in the university of Dublin, thirty poor scholars *got a dinner but once a day; and seventy-two scholars of the house got a dinner once a day*, but no lodgings." On this Mr. Canning remarked, "that he was much in the situation of the poor Dublin scholars, for he himself got but one dinner a day; he was not aware, however, till he heard the learned gentleman, of the degree of hardship he endured, and certainly should not have thought of applying to Parliament upon the subject." This harmless piece of pleasantry upon the doctor's diction, who meant to imply that the scholars had but one meal a day, was stigmatized in some of those identical journals, as a piece of absurd buffoonery and unmanly sarcasm. He was also attacked for holding two situations, being at that time receiver-general of the Alienation Office, a place worth about £400 a year.

Mr. Canning would not suffer the public convenience and safety to be put in the balance with his personal feelings and interests," and pronounced his conduct generally to be wholly irregular and highly censurable.

An accusation against the duke of York commenced in 1808, but did not become matter of public inquiry until the following year. Every reader must well remember the rumours that at that period prevailed. It is not our province or intention to defend the conduct of the illustrious individual who now lies heedless of reproach or censure; but even his enemies will admit, that never before was any man persecuted as he was, (we mean by publications not prosecutions,) for the commonest weakness of humanity,—the inability to resist the fascinations of a fine woman. Unsuspecting, because guiltless—he was stigmatized as the abettor of a line of conduct pursued by one in whom he confided too fondly; he suffered the disgrace and punishment for the acts of another,—acts in which (though accused as a participator) he had never been made the confidant.

It would be tedious to enter minutely into this transaction; it is only necessary to allude to it, to show the part our hero took in the affair. It may be, therefore, as well to premise, that on Wednesday, March the 8th, 1809, Mr. Wardle moved "The order of the day for taking into consideration the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of his royal highness the commander-in-chief."

After citing many cases, which clearly evince that Mrs. Clarke (a lady, between whom and the late lamented duke an unfortunate connexion subsisted) was in the habit of receiving *douceurs* from military gentlemen and their friends, to use her influence with his royal highness for their promotion,—Mr. Wardle proved, in

all the cases he brought forward, that she not only succeeded to effect the promotion, exchanges, &c. for the individuals for whose advancement such *douceur* was received, but effected it in the course of a very short period. Mr. Wardle concluded by moving, that an address might be presented to his Majesty, praying that his royal highness the duke of York might be removed from the command of the army.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Canning spoke at some length on the question, in reply to Wilberforce; but he did not deem it necessary to treat the subject with seriousness, but rather tried to put down the arguments of the adverse party by ridicule than reasoning. He said—"I strongly object to the compromise of opinions on this subject, and am astonished that my honourable friend, (Mr. Wilberforce) of all men, should have proposed such a thing, considering how little he has practised the tactics of Parliament. The House ought to come to a specific decision on the charge of corruption. My honourable friend has said, that he was not prepared to say that the duke had connived. *(No, no, from Mr. Wilberforce.)* Then he is prepared to say so. *(No, no.)* Then he is not prepared to say anything on the subject. *(A loud laugh.)* And this is the result of six days' debate! I feel deeply on the point of morals, but I doubt whether it is a subject proper for this House to take up. I deny that the House is disposed to interpose a shield between his royal highness and conviction, merely on account of his illustrious descent; but I hope the consideration of his rank will not operate against him. I affirm, that if the address of Mr. Wardle is carried, corruption will appear on the record; and, therefore, justice to the illustrious duke requires, that the House should, in the first instance, decide on the charge of cor-

ruption. The plan proposed on the other side is of the same nature as if a judge could say to a jury—'Gentlemen, whether the prisoner is guilty of this or that, I know not; but that is not the question for you to decide: you are to consider, whether, from other circumstances, it may not *be prudent to have him hanged.*'

"The grave charge of corruption having been made, that ought to be disposed of. But I allow, that after that there are minor considerations which well deserve the attention of the House. This question, however, ought to be disposed of separately. With regard to the letter of the duke of York to this House, the meanest person at the bar of a court of justice is forced to plead 'not guilty.'—He is forced to say that he will be tried by 'God and his country.' Yet, when the duke of York calls for trial in this way, it is to be denied him.—Is this equality? The mode which the duke of York has taken, of addressing a letter to the speaker, I affirm to be a much better course than if he had himself come into the House; for, in the latter course, he must have solicited the consent of his peers. I affirm, in opposition to what has fallen from the last speaker, that the letters have been fully considered by those who supported the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, and thirty-one out of forty-two have been commented on in one speech, (that of Mr. Croker).

"The note which has excited such a sensation, has been swelled into more importance than it deserves. I protest against this method of drawing inferences from the letters of public men. I remember a letter which I once addressed to a poetical lady, who had written an Ode on Vaccination, which, by such inferences, might be tortured into high treason. I cannot but express my astonishment, that it should have been said, that sir B.

Watson could not have appointed Mr. Dowler, because his father differed from him in politics. I deny having said, that infamy must attach to the accused or the accuser, though I did say, that it must rest somewhere; and it does rest with that confederacy, of which the duke of York has been the dupe and the victim. As I have in one instance been misrepresented by addition, I have, in another, been misrepresented by curtailment. When I said that some men might be led to doubt whether the licentiousness of the press did not overbalance its benefits,—I added, that the evil was temporary, but the good permanent. This was left out; and, as an argument in favour of my own recollection, the misrepresentation I allude to took place in one publication only, out of twelve. Before these charges were brought forward, it would have been well to have weighed, whether the evil would not surpass the good that could be produced. This is my feeling, and I will not conceal it, though I should be misrepresented so far as to have said, that the transgressions of princes ought to be overlooked. If the day shall come, when the thanks of the House be moved to the accuser, I will oppose the motion, and I trust shall find many to join me." Mr. Canning concluded by again insisting upon the necessity of coming to a distinct resolution on the charge of corruption.

On this case, our hero subsequently said—"That infamy must attach somewhere; either to the accuser or the accused;"—and, throughout the debate, this expression was made a rallying point by the promoters of the inquiry.

The resignation of the duke of York, and the appointment of general sir David Dundas, require mere mention, the circumstances attending it must be so fully in the recollection of all.

Mr. Canning has been blamed for the levity he displayed in this case; but the levity arose, not from the charge, but the promoters of it;—it is very possible to look seriously at an accusation, yet laugh at a prosecutor. The House of Commons affords occasionally specimens of oratory that awaken our risibility, even when contempt and disgust should render us serious. It was sufficiently laughable to hear a worthy citizen, more remarkable for the excellence of his intentions than his speeches, saying, that certain regulations, which affected pedestrians, were "hard for those who had so much *walking upon their hands;*"—but it was passed over as the effusion of one who did not suffer his learning to "disturb his pate;"—but we were astonished when we found a leader of the Opposition, and a member who speaks oftener than any one else in the House, commit a more absurd error. Mr. Canning had, in some debate, alleged various things, which the calculating member could not reduce to his arithmetic, and he remarked, "that the things were not proved, and that Mr. Canning was the *greatest* ALLEGATOR in that House." To such orators what can be opposed?—Ridicule is the only weapon to be wielded in a warfare with such foes.

The duke of York's case called forth a variety of effusions of this character; and those who condemn Mr. Canning's "levity," may read the following speech, (one amid many on both sides of the question,) and say, in what way a minister should have replied to it.

Mr. Fuller* said—"It is not my intention, at so late

* This facetious gentleman was committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, in 1810, for insulting the whole House. He called the speaker, "the insignificant little fellow in the wig;" and absolutely fought, *a la Belcher*, with the serjeant and his assistants, who strove to remove him from the House.

an hour, to trespass much on the attention of the House; but I think it my duty to address you, because I have been badgered by letters and abuse, *and such sort of things.* I tell you, sir, I have even been called a *black-hearted fellow;*—but I'll do my duty. People talk very much about popular clamour; but I remember when this case was bad enough, in the beginning, *not a man* on the opposite side *almost* but denied he had anything to do with it. They all stayed behind, until they saw the popular clamour excited, and then they came forward. I tell you a fact, why, one man, to whom I at first said it was a bad case, very near knocked me down. 'Zounds, sir,' said he; 'what! do you think I have anything to do with it?' I am of opinion we ought to acquit the duke of York. He is a great military character; he has carried our arms into all the rest of the world, and under him the army has flourished. Will you, then, hunt him into the world, with *a harpoon stuck at his back?* An honourable baronet opposite has talked of 'dissolution,'—I hope he did not mean a dissolution of Parliament. Indeed, I'm inclined to think he meant another kind of dissolution, from an honourable member whom he seemed to have in his eye. But, sir, if he did mean a dissolution even of Parliament, I trust in God I shall be returned *(loud laughter)*, for having done my duty. I have said, sir, I have been annoyed by letters; it ought to be made a misdemeanor. He who does not like England, *damn him, let him leave it!*"

The charge against his royal highness was scarcely disposed of, when one was instituted against lord Castlereagh, and the following resolutions were moved upon it.

"1st. That it appears to this House, from the evidence on the table, that lord viscount Castlereagh, in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of president of the

board of controul, and being then a privy counsellor and secretary of state, did place at the disposal of lord Clancarty, a seat in this honourable House.

"2d. That it was owing to a disagreement among other and subordinate parties to the transaction, that it did not take effect.

"3d. That lord viscount Castlereagh has been, by the said conduct, guilty of a violation of his duty,—of an abuse of his influence and authority, as president of the board of controul,—and, also, of an attack upon the purity and constitution of this House."

This charge was speedily disposed of, by a candid avowal on the part of his lordship. Mr. Canning spoke on behalf of his colleague, but the case did not call forth any extraordinary exertions on either side.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Madocks submitted another charge against his lordship and the honourable Spencer Percival; the main point of which was, that, in the last general election, Mr. Quintin Dick purchased a seat in the borough of Cashell, through the negociation of lord Castlereagh and Mr. Henry Wellesley,—and that, on the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York, lord Castlereagh intimated to Mr. Dick that he must vote with the government or resign his seat,—and that Mr. Dick accordingly resigned. Mr. Percival was charged with having been privy to the transaction. Mr. Canning defended his lordship, on the ground that this charge was a mere subterfuge for parliamentary reform, and Mr. Madocks's motion was lost on a division.

On the question of limiting the number of official persons in the House, that followed, Mr. Canning said—"That the plan of choosing ministers from among members of parliament, though not established by law, was sanctioned by the practice of the constitution: and he

was convinced it could not be changed, without great public detriment. The House of Commons must always want information on various public subjects from the members of administration; and it was much better that ministers, and other persons in ostensible situations, should be spoken to in their places, than brought up to the bar like culprits. If no placemen were to sit in Parliament, besides ministers, when the present generation of ministers should be over, they must be succeeded by raw and inexperienced persons. He believed it would be admitted, that both in that and the other House of Parliament, there were at least as many persons, holding pensions and sinecures, who voted against ministers, as for them. Mr. Ponsonby himself had a pension for life, and yet the present minister had always the benefit of his vigilance and correction. He wondered that Mr. Whitbread, who was himself a colonel of local militia, a very conspicuous situation, should consider appointments of that sort as likely to influence the votes of members."

The duties of foreign secretary, it is obvious, must, during war, be multifarious; and no one that ever filled this station had a greater degree of difficulty to contend with. Lord Thurlow said, with his usual strength and coarseness, of the appointment of the master of the rolls, "that he wanted some one who would relieve his burden, not throw his own d——d heavy wallet on his shoulders;" and Mr. Canning, if he could have descended to so coarse an expression, might have applied it to more than one of his colleagues. The weight of business, and the task of reply, (no inconsiderable one, when we consider the tenacity of an Opposition, composed of men who had been suddenly ousted from a power they had courted for years,) was with our hero; and, where he looked for assistance, he found something like determined hostility.

The journals of the period give an account of a duel that took place between our hero and lord Castlereagh, of which we subjoin a statement, and shall then explain the circumstances that induced it.

On Thursday, 21st September, 1809, these right honourable gentlemen met on Putney Heath, attended by their respective seconds; lord Castlereagh by the earl of Yarmouth, and Mr. Canning by Mr. Ellis; to settle their political differences. The meeting took place at six in the morning, near the telegraph. After taking their ground, they fired by signal, and missed; and no explanation taking place, they fired at each other a second time, when the ball from lord Castlereagh's pistol went through Mr. Canning's thigh, on the outer side of the bone. Thus the affair terminated.

The language that gave offence, and that led to the quarrel, was uttered in the presence of his grace the duke of Portland, some time since; so that, in the demands for explanation or satisfaction, it became necessary to make a reference to his grace, for his recollection of the words. This could not have been done till the Wednesday; on which day, and the day preceding, the earl of Yarmouth, who was second to lord Castlereagh, was constantly with the noble lord. Tuesday evening, it is said, they passed together at the Circus. Lord Castlereagh was known to be fond of the diversion of public amusements. On the night of the debate respecting a charge against him for bartering a writership for a seat in Parliament, he retired from the House of Commons, after making his explanatory speech, to witness the performances of the Drury-lane company at the Lyceum.

On Wednesday evening, lord Yarmouth went from lord Castlereagh's house, in St. James's Square, to Mr. Canning's, in Burton Street, where, understanding that

Mr. Canning was at his country residence at Old Brompton, (called Gloucester Lodge, from having been formerly the residence of the late duchess of Gloucester,) he left a letter, to be conveyed to him without loss of time.

In the morning of Thursday, about five o'clock, the earl of Yarmouth drove, in his curricle, from his house in Halfmoon Street, to lord Castlereagh's house, in St. James's Square, and took in that noble lord, and they proceeded together to Putney Heath, near the border of Wimbledon Common.

Mr. Canning left Gloucester Lodge at five o'clock, for the same destination. He went in a curricle, which was driven by a servant that accompanied him. Mr. George Rose Ellis attended on the ground as Mr. Canning's friend, and Mr. Home as surgeon. It is said that the whole party went into the earl of Yarmouth's house, and remained there half an hour, for the purpose of concerting more effectually the objects of the meeting, and, if possible, to conciliate matters. The hostile result being inevitable, the parties passed through the gardens to the heath, in the rear of the house. The ground was measured, and the shots exchanged by signals. Mr. Canning received a wound in the right thigh, but still stood on his post, as if waiting for another shot; when the blood from his wound was perceived flowing copiously through his dress, (nankeen trowsers,) the seconds immediately interposed, and he was taken off the ground. He was able to walk with assistance into lord Yarmouth's house, where a temporary dressing and bandages were applied; and he was thence conveyed back, in the same carriage, by the same servant who brought him on the ground, to Gloucester Lodge, Brompton.

Lord Castlereagh arrived in the course of the morn-

ing, at his house in St. James's Square, accompanied by lord Yarmouth. His lordship was, shortly after his arrival, visited by the earl of Liverpool; and, in the afternoon, joined lady Castlereagh at Stanmore. His lordship had a narrow escape; the button on the right lappel of his coat having been shot off.

It will be clearly seen that lord Castlereagh hastily demanded satisfaction, and that Mr. Canning obeyed the call, without impugning his lordship's right to demand it under the circumstances.

The correspondence upon this occasion is of too interesting a nature for omission.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"*Lord Castlereagh's Letter to Mr. Canning.*

"St. James's-square, Sept. 19.

"Sir,—It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement of the circumstances which preceded the recent resignations. It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to state, that it appears a proposition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the war department; and that you, towards the close of last session, having urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of your seceding from the government, procured a positive promise from the duke of Portland, (the execution of which you afterwards considered yourself entitled to enforce,) that such removal should be carried into effect. Notwithstanding this promise, by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the Crown was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same Cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise of the most ardent and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and ostensible approbation.

"You were fully aware that, if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain

one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me.

"I am aware it may be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you pressed for a decision for my removal, you also pressed for its disclosure, and that it was resisted by the duke of Portland, and some members of the government, supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit that you have a right to make use of such a plea, in justification of an act affecting my honour; nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any supposed friends, (whatever may be their motives,) can authorise or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception. For, were I to admit such a principle, my honour and character would be from that moment in the discretion of persons wholly unauthorised, and known to you to be unauthorised to act for me in such a case. It was, therefore, your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you, which no man of honour could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

"I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expense of my honour and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take you out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal.

"Under these circumstances, I must require that satisfaction from you, to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim.

"I am, &c.

"CASTLEREAGH."

"The Right Hon. George Canning."

Mr. Canning's Reply.

"Gloucester Lodge, Sept. 20.

"MY LORD,—The tone and purport of your lordship's letter, which I have this moment received, of course preclude any other

answer, on my part, to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give your lordship the satisfaction which you require. I am, &c.

"GEORGE CANNING."

"Lord Viscount Castlereagh, &c."

"*Detail of the original cause of the animosity between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, written by Mr. Cooke, the private secretary of Lord Castlereagh.*

"It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Canning, during the Easter recess, did make a representation, in a letter to the duke of Portland, with respect to the war department, founded upon differences which had prevailed between him and lord Castlereagh; but it is not true that this letter was shown to the Cabinet, or that the subject was even stated to the Cabinet, however it might have been secretly communicated to some of the members. It is also true, that a suggestion was made for appointing the marquis Wellesley to succeed lord Castlereagh. It is likewise undeniable, that a decision upon this point was postponed till near the close of the session. It is further ascertained, that towards the close of the session, when lord Grenville Leveson Gower's writ was to be moved for, on account of his coming into office and the Cabinet, that Mr. Canning called upon the duke of Portland, as a condition of his remaining in the government, to give him a decision upon the proposition for removing lord Castlereagh, and appointing the marquis Wellesley his successor: and the duke of Portland having given Mr. Canning a specific and positive promise to this effect, Mr. Canning pressed that it should be immediately acted upon, and lord Castlereagh acquainted with it. Lord Castlereagh, however, was not acquainted with it, and Mr. Canning acquiesced in its being concealed from him.

"Undoubtedly, lord Camden was acquainted with the transactions; but it is not true that his lordship ever undertook to make the disclosure to lord Castlereagh, nor did he ever make it. It is also true, that Mr. Canning was thoroughly apprised that it was not made known to lord Castlereagh. And it is further true, that lord Castlereagh, being kept in profound ignorance of the decision for his removal from office, was permitted, though in fact virtually no longer a minister, and in this state of delusion, to continue to conduct the entire arrangement of the campaign, and to engage in a new expedition of the most extensive, complicated, and important nature,—under the full persuasion, not that Mr. Canning had supplanted him in office, and possessed in his pocket a promise for his dismissal, but that he really enjoyed (as during the period he, in outward show and daily concurrence, experienced) Mr. Canning's sincere, liberal, and *bonâ fide* support, as a co-operating and approving colleague. It is further known, that Mr. Canning having thus in his pocket lord Castlereagh's dismissal, and having arranged with the duke of Portland that it should be carried into execution at the termination of the expedition, he did, on the 3d of September, the day that the account arrived from lord Chatham that he could not proceed to Antwerp, write to the duke of Portland, demanding the execution of the promise made to him. What were all the difficulties which were started from time to time against the immediate execution of this promise, it would be extremely difficult to detail; but there cannot be a doubt but the question of the writership, which it has been attempted to connect with this transaction, could have nothing to do with it; as Mr. Canning never contended for lord Castlereagh's removal from the government, but from the particular

office he held, and into which he wished to introduce lord Wellesley. It appears that the demand of the fulfilment of the promise led to the resignation of the duke of Portland, and subsequently of Mr. Canning. And it further appears, that as soon as the whole of this unparalleled conduct was, at this late period, disclosed to lord Castlereagh, he immediately placed his resignation in his Majesty's hands.—On the truth of the above facts the public may rely; and they can no longer be at a loss for the real causes and grounds of the demand made by lord Castlereagh for satisfaction from Mr. Canning."

"*Mr. Canning's Answer to Lord Castlereagh's Statement.*

"It is perfectly true, that so long ago as Easter Mr. Canning had represented to the duke of Portland the insufficiency (in his opinion) of the government, as then constituted, to carry on the affairs of the country, under all the difficulties of the times; and had requested that, unless some change should be effected in it, he might be permitted to resign his office.—It is equally true, that, in the course of the discussion which arose out of this representation, it was proposed to Mr. Canning, and accepted by him, as the condition of his consenting to retain the seals of the foreign office, that a change should be made in the war department.

"But it is not true that the time at which that change was ultimately proposed to be made, was of Mr. Canning's choice; and it is not true that he was party or consenting to the concealment of that intended change from lord Castlereagh.

"With respect to the concealment, Mr. Canning, some short time previous to the date of lord Castlereagh's letter, without the smallest suspicion of the ex-

istence of any intention on the part of lord Castlereagh to make such an appeal to Mr. Canning as this letter contains, but upon information that some misapprehension did exist, as to Mr. Canning's supposed concurrence in the reserve which had been practised towards lord Castlereagh, transmitted to one of lord Castlereagh's most intimate friends, to be communicated whenever he might think proper, the copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Canning to the duke of Portland, in the month of July, in which Mr. Canning requests, 'in justice to himself, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter this concealment shall be alleged (as he doubts not that it will) against him, as an act of injustice towards lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in his suggestion;—that, so far from desiring it, he conceived, however erroneously, lord Camden to be the sure channel of communication to lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late period he believed such communication to have been actually made.'

"The copy of this letter, and of the duke of Portland's answer to it, 'acknowledging Mr. Canning's repeated remonstrances against the concealment,' are still in the possession of lord Castlereagh's friend.

"The communication to lord Camden, to which this letter refers, was made on the 28th of April, with Mr. Canning's knowledge, and at his particular desire. Lord Camden being the near connexion and most confidential friend of lord Castlereagh, it never occurred to Mr. Canning, nor was it credible to him, till he received the most positive asseverations of the fact, that lord Camden had kept back such a communication from lord Castlereagh.

"With respect to the period at which the change in the war department was to take place, Mr. Canning was

induced, in the first instance, to consent to its postponement till the rising of Parliament, partly by the representations made to himself, of the inconveniences of any change in the middle of a session, but principally from a consideration of the particular circumstances under which lord Castlereagh stood in the House of Commons after Easter; circumstances which would have given to his removal at that period of the session, a character which it was certainly no part of Mr. Canning's wish that it should bear.

"Mr. Canning, however, received the most positive promise, that a change in the war department should take place immediately upon the close of the session. When that time arrived, the earnest and repeated entreaties of most of lord Castlereagh's friends in the Cabinet were employed to prevail on Mr. Canning to consent to the postponement of the arrangement.

"At length, and most reluctantly, he did give his consent to its being postponed to the period proposed by lord Castlereagh's friends, *viz.* the termination of the expedition then in preparation; but did so, upon the most distinct and solemn assurances, that, whatever might be the issue of the expedition, the change should take place at that period;—that the seals of the war department should then be offered to lord Wellesley, (the person for whose accession to the Cabinet Mr. Canning was known to be most anxious,) and that the interval should be diligently employed, by lord Castlereagh's friends, in preparing lord Castlereagh's mind to acquiesce in such an arrangement.

"It was, therefore, matter of astonishment to Mr. Canning, when, at the issue of the expedition, he reminded the duke of Portland that the time was now come for his grace's writing to lord Wellesley, to find,

that, so far from the interval having been employed by lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing lord Castlereagh for the change, the same reserve had been continued towards him, against which Mr. Canning had before so earnestly remonstrated. Being informed of this circumstance by the duke of Portland, and learning, at the same time, from his grace, that there were other difficulties attending the promised arrangement, of which Mr. Canning had not before been apprised;—and that the duke of Portland had himself come to a determination to retire from office, Mr. Canning instantly, and before any step whatever had been taken towards carrying the promised arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim, and requested the duke of Portland to tender his (Mr. Canning's) resignation, at the same time with his grace's, to the King. This was on Wednesday, the 6th of September, previously to the levee of that day.

"All question of the performance of the promise made to Mr. Canning being thus at an end, the reserve, which lord Castlereagh's friends had hitherto so perseveringly practised towards lord Castlereagh, appears to have been laid aside. Lord Castlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been proposed to him.

"What may have been the reasons which prevented lord Castlereagh's friends from fulfilling the assurances given to Mr. Canning, that lord Castlereagh's mind should be prepared, by their communication, for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect; and what the motives for the disclosure to lord Castlereagh, after that arrangement had ceased to be in contemplation, it is not for Mr. Canning to explain."

"*Lord Camden's Statement.*

"As it may be inferred, from a statement which has appeared in the public papers, that lord Camden withheld from lord Castlereagh a communication which he had been desired to make to him, it is necessary that it should be understood, that, however Mr. Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made to lord Camden, it was never stated to lord Camden, that the communication was made at the desire of Mr. Canning,—and that, so far from lord Camden having been authorised to make the communication to lord Castlereagh, he was absolutely restricted from so doing.

"As it may also be inferred, that lord Camden was expected to prepare lord Castlereagh's mind for any proposed change, it is necessary that it should be understood, that lord Camden never engaged to communicate to lord Castlereagh any circumstances respecting it, before the termination of the expedition."

Upon lord Camden's statement being made public, Mr. Canning addressed that nobleman in the following letters:—

Letters from the Right Honourable George Canning, to Earl Camden, Lord President of the Council.

"Gloucester Lodge, Nov. 14, 1809.

"My Lord,—I had written to your lordship, immediately after the publication of your lordship's statement, but I delayed sending my letter, in the hope of being able previously to submit it to the perusal of the duke of Portland.

"In this hope I have been disappointed, by that fatal event which has deprived this country of one of its most upright and disinterested patriots; the King of one of his most faithful, devoted,

and affectionate subjects; and the world, of one of the most blameless and most noble-minded of men.

"Thus situated, I have thought it right to revise what I had written, and scrupulously to expunge every reference to the authority of the duke of Portland, which would now stand upon my sole testimony; retaining such only as are supported, either by written documents, which I shall be happy to communicate to your lordship; or by facts which are well known to your lordship or your colleagues, and in which, for the most part, your lordship is yourself concerned.

"Neither, however, can I content myself with this precaution; but must protest, at the same time, in the most earnest manner, against any possible misconstruction, by which any thing in the following letter can be strained to a meaning unfavourable to the motives which actuated the duke of Portland's conduct.

"It is impossible, indeed, not to regret the policy, however well intentioned, which dictated the reserve practised towards lord Castlereagh in the beginning of this transaction; or that practised towards myself in its conclusion.

"It is to be regretted, that the duke of Portland should have imposed, and that your lordship should have accepted, the condition of silence, in the first communications between you.

"It is also to be regretted, that I should not have learnt in July, that your lordship was not party to the assurances then given me, on behalf of lord Castlereagh's friends in general; and that another member of the Cabinet, comprehended in that description, had (as I have since heard) refused to concur in them.

"Had I been made acquainted with these circumstances, I should then have resigned; and my resignation would, at that time, have taken place without inconvenience or embarrassment; and without stirring those questions, (no way connected with the cause of my retirement,) or subjecting me to those misinterpretations of my conduct and motives, which have been produced by the coincidence of my resignation with that of the duke of Portland.

"But, however this reserve may be to be regretted, it is impossible to attribute the adoption of it, on the part of the duke of Portland, to any other motives than to that gentleness of nature which eminently distinguished him; and which led him to endeavour (above all things) to prevent political differences from growing into personal dissension; and to aim at executing whatever arrangement might be expedient for improving or strengthening the administration, with the concurrence (if possible) of all its existing members.

"And no man who knows the affectionate respect and attachment, which the manly and generous qualities of the duke of Portland's mind were calculated to command, and which I invariably bore to him, will suspect me of being willing to establish my own vindication, at the expense of the slightest disrespect to his memory, or prejudice to his fame.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

To Earl Camden, &c. &c.

"MY LORD,—The statement which has been published in the newspapers, in your lordship's name, has decided a question on which I had before been hesitating, as to the necessity of an authentic detail of the transactions (so far as I am concerned in them, or am acquainted with them,) to which that statement refers.

"For that purpose, I think a direct address to your lordship more decorous, both towards your lordship and for myself, than an anonymous paragraph in a newspaper.

"It is with the most painful reluctance that I recur to a subject which, so far as it concerns lord Castlereagh and myself, had been settled in a manner, which is usually, I believe, considered as final.

"Discussions of the causes of dispute more commonly precede, than follow, the extreme appeal to which lord Castlereagh resorted. And when, after mature consideration, his lordship had determined to resort to that appeal in the first instance, I should have thought that such a choice, deliberately made, would have been felt by his friends to be equally conclusive upon them as upon himself.

"But your lordship needs not to be informed, how assiduously my character has been assailed by writers in the newspapers, espousing lord Castlereagh's quarrel, and supposed (I trust, most injuriously) to be his lordship's particular friends.

"The perversions and misrepresentations of anonymous writers, however, would not have extorted from me any reply. But to them succeeded the publication of lord Castlereagh's letter to me of the 19th September.

"I entirely disbelieve that lord Castlereagh, and I distinctly deny that I myself had any knowledge of this publication.

"But, by what means it matters not, the letter is before the

world; and though the course originally chosen by lord Castlereagh precluded me from offering any explanation to him, the course which has since been adopted on his behalf, (though undoubtedly without his privity,) might perhaps have been considered as rendering such an explanation due to myself. It is, however, only since your lordship's publication, that I have felt it to be indispensably necessary.

"The statement on my behalf, which has also found its way (without my consent, and against my wish) into the public papers, was written under a sense of delicacy and restraint, as to the particulars of the transaction, which, from the character of the transaction itself, must always continue to prevail in a great degree; but from which, until Wednesday, the 11th of October, the day on which I gave up the seals, I had not an opportunity of soliciting any dispensation.

"Of the indulgence which I then most humbly solicited, I trust I shall be able to avail myself sufficiently for my own vindication, without losing sight of those considerations of duty and propriety, by which the use of such an indulgence must necessarily be regulated and confined.

"It is stated, in lord Castlereagh's letter,—'That I had demanded and procured from the duke of Portland, before the rising of Parliament, a promise for lord Castlereagh's removal from the war department; that, by this promise, lord Castlereagh's situation, as a Minister of the Crown, was made dependant upon my pleasure; and that this promise I afterwards thought myself entitled to enforce;

"'That, after, and notwithstanding this virtual supersession of lord Castlereagh in his office, I allowed him to originate and conduct the expedition to the Scheldt;

"'And that, during this whole period, I knew that the agitation, and the decision of the question for his removal, were concealed from him; and was party to this concealment.'

"Lord Castlereagh indeed admits,

"That he 'has no right, as a public man, to resent my demanding, upon public grounds, his removal from his office, or even from the administration, as a condition of my continuing a member of the government.'

"But he contends, that a proposition, 'justifiable in itself,' ought not to have been 'executed in an unjustifiable manner;' and he makes me responsible for the manner in which the 'head of the administration,' and some members of the government, '*supposed*

to be his (lord Castlereagh's) friends,' executed the proposition which he attributes to me.

"He is ready to acknowledge, indeed, 'that I pressed for a disclosure, at the same time that I pressed for a decision; and that the disclosure was resisted by the duke of Portland and his (lord Castlereagh's *supposed* friends.'

"But, in this circumstance, lord Castlereagh professes not to see any justification of what he conceives to have been my conduct towards him; because, by acquiescing in the advice or entreaties of his 'supposed friends,' I admitted 'an authority' on their part, 'which I must have known them not to possess; because, by 'pressing for disclosure,' I showed my own sense of the 'unfairness' of concealment; and because, with that sense, I 'ought' (as he conceives me not to have done) 'to have availed myself of the same alternative, namely, my own resignation, to enforce disclosure, which I did to enforce decision.'

"Without offering a single word in the way of argument, I shall, by a distinct detail of facts, in order of their date, substantiate my contradiction of these charges.

"I shall only premise,

"1st. That I had (as is admitted by lord Castlereagh) an unquestionable right to require, on public grounds, a change in the war department, tendering at the same time the alternative of my own resignation.

"2dly. (What no man at all acquainted with the course of public business will dispute,) That the regular, effectual, and straightforward course for bringing that alternative to issue, was to state it directly to the 'head of the administration,' the King's chief Minister, to be laid by that Minister before the King.

"I proceed to the detail of facts.

"In the beginning of April, (the 2d,) I addressed a letter to the duke of Portland, containing a representation on the state of his administration, and expressing my wish and intention, unless some change were effected in it, to resign.

"April 4th to 8th.—Upon the duke of Portland's requiring a more detailed explanation as to the motives of my proffered resignation, I stated, among other things, that a change either in my own department, or in lord Castlereagh's, appeared to me to be expedient for the public service I stated my perfect willingness that the alternative should be decided for my retirement; and only requested that the decision might, (if possible,) take place before the recommencement of business in Parliament after the Easter holidays.

"The duke of Portland requested me to suspend the execution of my intention to resign; wishing to have an opportunity of consulting with some of his colleagues, before he determined what advice to lay before the King.

"The Easter holidays thus passed away. On the 16th of April, shortly after his grace's return to town from Bulstrode, the duke of Portland opened the subject to one of the members of the Cabinet, whose name, (not having been hitherto brought forward,) I do not think it necessary to mention. Your lordship is perfectly acquainted with it.

"By the duke of Portland's desire, I had a communication with that member of the Cabinet, within a very few days after his interview with the duke of Portland. He strongly represented the difficulty of making any new arrangement during the sitting of Parliament; and urged me to defer the pressing my own resignation till the end of the session. To this recommendation I did not promise to accede; but we agreed, (whether upon his suggestion or upon mine, I am not confident,) that, at all events, no step whatever could properly be taken, until after the decision of the question upon the writership; which was, about this time, brought forward in the House of Commons.

"That question was decided on Tuesday, the 25th of April.

"On Friday, the 28th, the duke of Portland communicated fully with your lordship; and informed me, as the result of that communication, that your lordship thought a change in lord Castlereagh's situation in the government desirable, provided it could be effected honourably for lord Castlereagh, and that it 'could be reconciled to lord Castlereagh's feelings.'

"From this period, I understood that your lordship was constantly consulted by the duke of Portland, in every step of the transaction. Other members of the Cabinet were also consulted by the duke of Portland; but how many of them, or at what precise periods, I neither knew at the time, nor can now undertake to say.

"Shortly after your lordship's first interview with the duke of Portland, (I am sure before the 5th of May,) that member of the Cabinet, with whom his grace had first communicated, reported to me a suggestion of your lordship's, of a change of office for lord Castlereagh, evidently calculated on the principles which your lordship had stated as indispensable to such a change. Whether this communication to me was in the nature of a direct message from your lordship, I do not exactly know. But I understood distinctly that you knew of its being made to me; and that what-

ever observations I might make upon it, were to be reported to your lordship. What I observed upon it, was in substance,—that it was not for me to presume to say what change would be proper; that I had done all that I had thought myself either called upon or at liberty to do, in stating to the duke of Portland my opinions, and my intention to resign; that the duke of Portland alone could either propose any change, or obtain the necessary authority for carrying it into effect; and I therefore recommended that your lordship should state your suggestion to the duke of Portland.

"On the 5th of May, the duke of Portland informed me, that he had determined to lay the whole subject, on the following Wednesday, before his Majesty.

"On Wednesday, the 10th of May, he informed me that he had done so; and that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to say, that he would take the subject into his serious consideration.

"On Wednesday, the 31st of May, apprehending it to be possible that my intention might not have been fully explained to his Majesty, and thinking it my duty to leave no doubt upon it, I humbly repeated to his Majesty the representations which I had before made to the duke of Portland, and humbly tendered my resignation. I received thereupon his Majesty's gracious commands, to retain my situation until his Majesty should have considered the whole subject.

"Some time in the course of the next week, I think on the 8th of June, the duke of Portland stated to me, that he had received his Majesty's commands to propose, and to carry into effect, at the end of the session of Parliament, an arrangement for a partial change in the war department.

"The particulars of this arrangement I do not think it proper to detail; feeling it my duty to limit myself strictly to what is absolutely necessary for the explanation of my own conduct. It is sufficient to state, that the object of this arrangement was not the removal of lord Castlereagh, but a new distribution of the business of the war department, whereby that part of it which was connected with political correspondence, would have been transferred to the foreign office; and the business of another office, then vacant, would have been transferred to lord Castlereagh. It is only necessary to add, that the effect of this new distribution would not have been to take out of lord Castlereagh's hands the superintendance of the expedition to the Scheldt.

"On the 13th of June, I wrote to the duke of Portland, signifying to him that, although such an arrangement had never entered into my contemplation, and although I did not think it calculated

to remedy all the difficulties which had induced me to bring the state of the administration under his grace's consideration, I was ready, so far as I was concerned, to undertake and discharge to the best of my ability, any duty which his Majesty might be graciously pleased to devolve upon me; but I expressed, at the same time, great doubts, whether this arrangement could be expected to be acceptable to lord Castlereagh, or, in all parts, satisfactory to the public feeling.

" On Sunday, the 18th of June, (Parliament being expected to rise on the 20th or 21st,) I wrote to the duke of Portland, to inquire whether this arrangement, or any other, was to take place; stating to him, that 'if things remained as they then were, I was determined not to remain in office.'

" (June 18th.)—In answer, the duke of Portland mentioned to me a new plan of arrangement, altogether different from that which he had been authorised to carry into effect; and stated that he had sent for your lordship and the other member of the Cabinet, with whom your lordship and the duke of Portland had been in constant communication, to co-operate with him in forwarding this new plan, and to urge lord Castlereagh to consent to it.

" The particulars of this new plan, I do not think it necessary to state, as I learnt from the duke of Portland, either the next day or the day following it, that to this plan lord Castlereagh certainly could not be brought to agree. Whether this was known to his grace only from your lordship, or through your lordship from lord Castlereagh himself, I was not apprised.

" On Wednesday the 21st, the day of the rising of Parliament, I was assured by the duke of Portland, that the specific arrangement which he had in the first instance proposed, *viz.* the new distribution of the business of the war department, should be carried into effect;—and that his Majesty had directed him to desire your lordship to communicate his decision to lord Castlereagh.

On Tuesday, June the 27th, finding that no communication had been yet made to lord Castlereagh, I wrote to the duke of Portland in terms of the strongest remonstrance, both against the concealment and the delay; and intimated my determination to recur to my original intention, and to press the acceptance of my resignation.

" Accordingly, on the following day, Wednesday the 28th of June, I had an audience of the King, in which I humbly and earnestly repeated to his Majesty the tender of my resignation.

" That same evening, the duke of Portland informed me that he had that day signified to your lordship the King's desire, that your

lordship should communicate the intended arrangement to lord Castlereagh; and that the communication was to be made by your lordship, as soon as the expedition had sailed; which, it was expected, would be in less than a fortnight from that time.

"But before this fortnight elapsed, *viz.* on Wednesday, the 5th of July, the duke of Portland informed me, that in consideration of the difficulties attending the proposed arrangement, he and those with whom he consulted were of opinion, that another should be substituted for it, which, he trusted, would also be more agreeable to me. He told me that hopes were entertained that your lordship would determine to offer your resignation, for the purpose of facilitating a general arrangement, in which a complete change in the war department might be effected consistently with lord Castlereagh's feelings. He said, however, that your lordship had not yet finally made up your mind upon the subject:—but that you would probably come to a decision before the following Wednesday.

"The duke of Portland stated his intention, in the event of your lordship's resignation, to submit to his Majesty the nomination of lord Wellesley to the war department.

"It was well known by the duke of Portland, that I had been always anxious for lord Wellesley's accession to the Cabinet; but this was the first mention to me, in the course of this transaction, of his introduction into the war department.—But for a severe indisposition, lord Wellesley would, before this time, have been on his way to Spain.

"On Thursday, the 13th of July, the duke of Portland informed me, that your lordship had, the day before, actually tendered your resignation; but that your lordship had annexed to it the conditions, that no change should take place, till after the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt; and that it should be left to your lordship to choose the time of making any communication to lord Castlereagh.

"(July 13th to the 20th.)—I made the strongest remonstrances against this new delay, and this indefinite renewal of the concealment from lord Castlereagh. I said, that after the repeated postponements which had already taken place, and after the reserve which had already been practised towards lord Castlereagh, I could not rely upon the execution of any arrangement which should not be now completely settled in all its parts; and, if this were not to be done, I most earnestly entreated that his Majesty might be advised now to accept my resignation.

"The duke of Portland most anxiously deprecated my resignation, as leading, in his apprehension, to the dissolution of the ad-

ministration. He declared himself to be authorised to assure me, in the most solemn manner, that the arrangement now in contemplation should positively take place at the termination of the expedition; that the seals of the war department should then be offered to lord Wellesley—an office (to be vacated by means of your lordship's retirement) being at the same time to be offered to lord Castlereagh;—and that in the interval, and without loss of time, lord Castlereagh's friends should take opportunities of preparing him for the change, and reconciling him to it, by representing to him the great advantages to be derived from it, in the acquisition of additional strength to the government.

"Not only the duke of Portland, but other members of the Cabinet, lord Castlereagh's friends, some directly and some through common friends, urged me, in the most earnest manner, to acquiesce in the postponement now proposed. It was represented to me, that if, instead of pressing for the execution of the arrangement now, time were allowed to lord Castlereagh's friends to prepare him for the change, and to reconcile him to it, the arrangement might ultimately take place in an amicable manner; that every public object might thus be answered, without any unnecessary harshness to the feelings of individuals; and that, so far from finding fresh impediments raised to the execution of the arrangement, when the time arrived, I should find all those, to whose representations I yielded, considering themselves pledged equally with the duke of Portland, to see it carried into effect.

"It is due to your lordship to say, that your lordship's name was not, so far as I recollect, specifically mentioned to me on this occasion; but it is equally due to myself to declare, that I never for a moment imagined, nor could have believed, that the general description of 'lord Castlereagh's friends,' as stated to me without exception or qualification by the duke of Portland, did not comprehend your lordship, whose proffered resignation was the basis of the whole arrangement, and without whose express consent, therefore, no other person could announce the arrangement to lord Castlereagh.

"By these representations and assurances, at length, (July 20,) most reluctantly, and I confess against my better judgment, I was induced to acquiesce in the proposed postponement of the change; and consented to remain in office till the termination of the expedition.

"On Saturday, September the 2d, the result of the expedition to the Scheldt being then known, I wrote to the duke of Portland,

at Bulstrode, reminding his grace, that the period fixed for offering the seals of the war department to lord Wellesley was arrived.

"On the following Wednesday, the 6th of September, the duke of Portland informed me, that no steps whatever had been taken by any of lord Castlereagh's friends, to reconcile him to the change, or to prepare him for it; that the execution of the arrangement would be attended with other resignations, or at least with one other resignation, (of which I had never before received the slightest intimation); and that he had himself determined to retire.

"Upon receiving this intelligence, I immediately disclaimed any wish that the arrangement, however positively I understood it to have been settled, should be carried into effect under circumstances to me so unexpected; and instantly reverted to that 'alternative' which, upon each successive stage of difficulties and delays, I had uniformly pressed,—that of the tender of my own resignation;—which I desired the duke of Portland to lay that day before the King.

"On the following day, Thursday the 7th of September, I declined attending the Cabinet; stating, in a letter to the duke of Portland, (which I left it to his grace to communicate to the Cabinet if he should think propor,) that I considered my resignation as in his Majesty's hands; and myself as holding my office only until my successor should be named.

"On Friday, the 8th, I heard from the duke of Portland that lord Castlereagh had sent in his resignation. I have been informed since, (but whether correctly or not I cannot affirm,) that he did so, in consequence of a communication made to him, by your lordship, after the Cabinet of the preceding day.

"On Thursday, the 14th of September, your lordship called upon me at the Foreign Office, by your own appointment, for the purpose of explaining the causes which had prevented your making any communication to lord Castlereagh in the earlier stages of the transaction.

"On Tuesday, September the 19th, your lordship, in answer to a letter of mine of the preceding day, explained to me the grounds of your silence to lord Castlereagh, during the latter period of the transaction.

"On Wednesday morning, September the 20th, I received from lord Castlereagh the letter which produced our meeting.

"From this series of facts it appears,

"That, in April, I made a representation to the King's first mi-

nister, on the general state of the administration; and that, in the course of the discussions arising out of that representation, I proposed on public grounds, not, as lord Castlereagh appears to have been informed, his removal from the administration, but the alternative of a change, either in the war or foreign department:

"That, on the 10th of May, the duke of Portland submitted to his Majesty the subject of my representation; and informed me that his Majesty would be pleased to take it into his consideration:

"That, from the 10th of May until the 8th of June, I was wholly unapprised of the result of that consideration; but that, for fear of misapprehension, I had, in person, during that interval,—*viz.* on May 31,—humbly repeated my representation, and tendered my resignation to his Majesty:

"That, on or about the 8th of June, for the first time, an arrangement was stated to me, which had for its object a new distribution of the business of the war department; and that, on the 13th, I signified my acquiescence in that arrangement, so far as I was concerned:

"That, on the 18th, another arrangement was stated to me, to be substituted for that in which I had acquiesced: but that, on the 21st, it was announced to me that the first arrangement was finally decided upon; was to be immediately carried into effect; and was to be communicated to lord Castlereagh by your lordship:

"That, on the 27th of June, no step appearing to have been taken, either to execute the intended arrangement, or to apprise lord Castlereagh of it, I remonstrated against the delay, and against the concealment from lord Castlereagh: and that, on the 28th, I again tendered my resignation; and that on the same day your lordship received an injunction to communicate the intended arrangement to lord Castlereagh:

"That, on the 5th of July, a new plan was stated to me to be in contemplation; a plan originating with your lordship, and depending for its execution upon a step to be taken by yourself: that this plan was, on the 13th, announced to me as settled, and as intended to be substituted for that which had been first proposed:

"That I at that time renewed my remonstrances in the strongest manner, both against the delay and against the concealment; but that it was stated to me to be an indispensable condition of this plan on your lordship's part,—that it should not be acted upon till the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt; and that the time of making the communication to lord Castlereagh should be left to your lordship's discretion:

"That, at length, in compliance with the representations and entreaties of the duke of Portland, and of others, lord Castlereagh's friends, and upon the most solemn assurances that lord Castlereagh should in the mean time be prepared by his friends for the change, and that the change should positively take place at the period fixed by your lordship, I consented to remain in office:

"That, on Wednesday the 6th of September, finding that nothing had been done towards preparing lord Castlereagh for the arrangement; and that the execution of it would be attended with difficulties of which I had not before been apprised, I desired the duke of Portland to lay my resignation before the King.

"Your lordship will therefore perceive,

"That, up to the 8th of June, so far from being in possession of any 'promise for lord Castlereagh's removal,' and from his continuance in office being made thereby 'dependent upon my pleasure;' —no decision whatever had, to my knowledge, been taken, up to that time; no proposal had been made to me by the duke of Portland, in any way affecting lord Castlereagh's political situation; and no intimation had been given to me, whether my own resignation would be finally accepted or declined;

"That the arrangement which was in contemplation from the 8th of June to the 5th of July, in no degree affected, and was never intended to affect, 'the conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt;'

"That lord Castlereagh's 'removal from the war department' was first determined upon as part of the plan of which your lordship's resignation was the basis;

"That his 'removal from the administration' was not at any time 'demanded' by me;

"And, lastly, that I *did* employ the tender of my own resignation, not to 'enforce decision' *only*, (as lord Castlereagh's letter supposes,) but equally to 'enforce disclosure;' and that in fact I did ultimately resign, rather than 'enforce' the intended change, under circumstances so different from those which I had been authorised to expect.

"It cannot be expected that I should labour very anxiously to refute the charge of my having '*supposed*' your lordship and others '*to be* lord Castlereagh's *friends*;' and having, under that impression, deferred to your opinion and 'authority,' in a matter affecting lord Castlereagh's interests and feelings.

"That your lordship, in particular, as well from near connexion as from an active and anxious partiality, was entitled to consultation and to deference, on such an occasion,—is a persuasion which

I felt in common, as I believe, with every member of the government; and which not even lord Castlereagh's disclaimer has induced me to renounce.

"I should not have been surprised, nor should I have thought myself entitled to take the smallest offence, if your lordship had, instead of concurring in the expediency of a change in lord Castlereagh's department, protested against it, and had recommended to the duke of Portland to advise the King to accept my resignation: and it was perfectly known by the duke of Portland, and, I am confident, not unknown by your lordship, that, at any moment, from the beginning of these discussions to the end, I was not only ready but desirous to terminate them by resigning.

"But when the opinion of the expediency of a change in the war department had been adopted by so many of the immediate friends of lord Castlereagh, upon the condition that it should be reconciled to lord Castlereagh's feelings,—and when they, and your lordship among the first, had devised and concerted with the King's first minister, the mode of carrying that object into execution,—I cannot help thinking that I should have been much, and justly, blamed, if I had insisted upon taking the communication to lord Castlereagh out of your hands into my own.

"I now come to your lordship's statement.*

"This statement appears to me to have been much misunderstood. It has been construed, as if your lordship had meant to aver that what you were *restricted from doing*, and what you *had not engaged to do*, were one and the same thing;—whereas your lordship's statement, in point of fact, contains two distinct propositions, and refers to two separate periods of time.

"The period during which your lordship states yourself to have been '*absolutely restricted*' from making a communication to lord Castlereagh, extends from the 28th of April, on which day the first communication was made by the duke of Portland to your lordship, to the time at which the proposed arrangement, for the new distribution of the business of the war department, was superseded by your lordship's tender of your resignation.

"The period during which your lordship states yourself '*not to have engaged*' to make a communication to lord Castlereagh, extends from the time of the tender of your lordship's resignation to the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt.

"It ought, however, to be observed, that during the first of these

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* See page 200.

two periods,—from the 28th of April to the 12th of July,—the nature of communication to be made to lord Castlereagh, and the nature of the restriction imposed upon your lordship, were entirely changed.

"*Previously* to the 8th of June, the communication which your lordship would have had to make to lord Castlereagh, was simply that I had represented the expediency of a change either in his department or in mine; and that *no* decision whatever had yet been taken upon this representation.

"With respect to *this* communication, it does not appear that the restriction upon your lordship was absolute and indefinite. But I knew nothing of its existence.

"*Subsequently* to the 8th of June, the communication to be made to lord Castlereagh was, that an arrangement was in contemplation for a new distribution of the business of the war department.

"With respect to *this* communication, not only was the *restriction* upon your lordship not indefinitely continued; but your lordship actually received, on the 28th of June, an *injunction to make this communication* to lord Castlereagh at a period distinctly specified, *viz.* the sailing of the expedition. And this injunction was only superseded by a voluntary act of your lordship's—your tender of your own resignation on the 12th of July, as the basis of another arrangement.

"During the whole of the period, from the 28th of April to the 12th of July, the concealment practised towards lord Castlereagh was either without my knowledge, and contrary to my belief, or it was against my earnest remonstrances.

"It was without my knowledge, and contrary to my belief, up to the week in which Parliament rose; and from that time forth it was against my earnest remonstrances.

"Even when I learnt, in June, that the communication had not been made by your lordship to lord Castlereagh, I did not learn that you had been prevented from making it by any absolute restriction.

"It was not till the month of July, in the course of the discussions which took place from the 13th to the 20th of that month, respecting the proposal for postponing the new arrangement to be founded on your lordship's resignation, and for leaving to your lordship's discretion the time of disclosure to lord Castlereagh, that I learnt that the silence which you had hitherto observed towards him, had been imposed upon your lordship by the injunction of the duke of Portland. I did not till then know with whom the concealment hitherto practised had originated; I frankly own that I thought it

had originated with your lordship; I was anxious above all things that it should not be ever suspected that it had originated with me; or that I had been a consenting party to it, or even (till a late period) conscious of its existence.

"In my correspondence with the duke of Portland at this period, therefore, at the same time that I resisted the new delay then proposed, I disclaimed any concurrence in the concealment which had been hitherto practised—and requested 'that it might be remembered hereafter, whenever that concealment should be alleged against *me*, as an act of injustice to lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in *my* suggestion; that, so far from desiring it, I had conceived (however erroneously) *your lordship* to be the sure channel of communication to lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late period I had believed such communication to have been actually made.'

"The duke of Portland, in answer, acknowledged my repeated remonstrances against the concealment; stating himself at the same time not to have been aware that I had at any time believed the communication to have been actually made; but assuring me 'that he should be at all times ready to avow that the concealment had originated with himself, (the duke of Portland;) that he had *enjoined it* to all those with whom he had communicated,—from motives which he was at all times ready to justify; and that he was desirous of taking whatever blame might have been, or might at any time be, incurred by it, upon himself.'

"This, as I have said, was my first knowledge of any restriction whatever upon your lordship's communication to lord Castlereagh.

"If I am asked *why* I believed your lordship to have *actually made* the communication, I answer, because it was natural that you should make it; because the expectation of your making it was the motive which induced me to desire (and I *did* desire) that the communication should be made to your lordship;—because the manner in which you first received that communication (as reported to me by the duke of Portland,) tended to confirm the belief that your lordship was the fit channel of communication to lord Castlereagh;—and because I knew not of the existence of any impediment to your pursuing what appeared to me (and does still appear to me) the natural and obvious course to be pursued upon such an occasion.

"It may be objected, that I ought not to have been contented with *presuming* the disclosure to have been made, but ought to have diligently ascertained that it was so;—first, I answer—that no person naturally sets about ascertaining that of which he enter-

tains no doubt;—and, secondly, I answer—that the moment that my suspicion of the fact was excited, I did set about ascertaining the truth; and that upon ascertaining it, I did remonstrate in the strongest manner against the concealment;—and enforced that remonstrance by the tender of my own resignation.

"It was on the 26th or 27th of June (five or six days after Parliament rose) that I discovered my suspicion to be well founded.—On the 27th I remonstrated.—On the 28th I tendered my resignation. —And in the course of the same day, your lordship (as I have already stated) received an injunction to make the communication as soon as the expedition should have sailed.

"The second of the two periods to which your lordship's statement refers, begins from the 12th of July, the day of the tender of your lordship's resignation.

"It does not appear, nor does your lordship's statement aver, that at any time during the second period, the restriction which had been originally imposed upon your lordship was renewed; or that any other existed, except that which your lordship had imposed upon yourself, and which was therefore no longer binding upon your lordship than while you might yourself be willing that it should bind you.

"Of the extent to which this *self-imposed* restriction appears to have gone, I had not any suspicion. I knew indeed that your lordship had stipulated to keep the time of the disclosure to lord Castlereagh in your own hands; but, subsequently to my being made acquainted with that stipulation, I had received the assurances which I have already described, on behalf of 'lord Castlereagh's friends:' and had relied upon those assurances.

"It was not till the 6th of September that I learnt that those assurances had not been carried into effect. It was not till the 19th of September that I learnt that your lordship had been no party to them. Then indeed I learnt that your lordship had not only '*not engaged*' to make the communication previously to the 'issue of the expedition being known here'—but that in July you had 'stated to *one* of our colleagues,' (not the duke of Portland)—'*who was urging an earlier communication*,' that the 'time of communication, so far as you were concerned, was for you to decide; but that no one had a right to say you did not perform that part in the transaction in which you were concerned, *if you did not open your lips to lord Castlereagh before the issue of the expedition was known here*.'

"This information I received from your lordship, in a letter dated the 19th of September. It was then perfectly new to me.

"I leave your lordship to judge what must have been my surprise, when, after receiving from your lordship, on the evening of the 19th of September, this frank avowal of the real origin of the concealment maintained, during this latter and most important period, towards lord Castlereagh, I received on the following morning lord Castlereagh's letter of the same date, making *me* responsible for that concealment.

"I have not to trouble your lordship with any farther observations.

"I have confined myself to matters growing out of lord Castlereagh's letter, and out of your lordship's statement: on those alone have I any right to claim your lordship's attention.

"To this address to your lordship I have been compelled to resort, however reluctantly, to vindicate my private honour. As to any charges against my public conduct—this is not the mode to reply to them. If any such shall be brought against me, at the proper time, and in the proper place, I shall be prepared to meet and to repel them

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"GEORGE CANNING."

Though his lordship and our hero had tendered their resignations, they did not absolutely resign the seals of office until the 11th October following. Earl Bathurst succeeded Mr. Canning. The duke of Portland also resigned.*

It would be impertinent to trouble the reader with a disquisition on duelling. Mr. Canning might have pleaded the example of Pitt, who went out with Tierney—but no example can sanction wrong—and, *morally*, there can be no doubt on the subject. But,—alas, for the world we live in!—crime sometimes becomes imperative, for the maintenance of existence—for who can exist amid the scorn of society? It is very edifying to hear philosophers talk of the consolation of your own feel-

* The duke died on the 31st October following, after undergoing an operation for the stone.

ings; but this desolate enjoyment is ill fitted for one who mingles with the crowd. It is amongst the many paradoxes that the laws of society and of government afford, that a military man is broken by court-martial, for fighting a duel; yet is scorned by his fellow-soldiers, if he refuses to do so. The very men who penned paragraphs of abuse against Canning, for risking his life, which, as a minister, belonged to his country, would have been the first to have attached the imputation of cowardice to his conduct.

Putting aside the question of the impropriety of a duel under such, or indeed any, circumstances, it must be admitted that the conduct of both parties was admirable. They met like men who came on a mortal embassy. It was not to fire in the air that they took their ground. Lord Castlereagh had called for the blood of Canning, as an atonement for an imaginary injury or insult, and Canning accorded him his satisfaction. After receiving his wound, Mr. Canning remained, ready to fire and be fired at again, had not the interference of the seconds put an end to the affair. The courage of both parties was unquestionable.* Mr. Canning had, the night before, made his will, (which will be found in another part of these Memoirs,) and these circumstances account for its extraordinary brevity and untechnical phraseology. Mr. Ellis, who seconded our hero, was witness to the execution of his will.

The secession of the duke of Portland, lord Castlereagh, and our hero, created the greatest embarrassment,

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* Lord Castlereagh gave an undeniable proof of his coolness, when attacked by a mob on the corn question. They pelted him, and threatened to drag him from his horse. Instead of galloping off, he threw the reins on the animal's neck, and put him into a walk The mob were awed, and he proceeded in peace

which was increased by the resignation of Mr. Huskisson. The offer of chancellor of the exchequer was made to him, and refused; he having declared he would form no part of an administration that excluded Canning.

The feeling that had actuated the duel did not expire with it. Sheridan truly said, "that Castlereagh was an Irishman even in his quarrels; for he was not a whit more satisfied after receiving satisfaction than before." All his errors as a minister Lord Castlereagh charitably threw on the shoulders of his colleague. This stale device might, for a moment, gull the million; but all reasoning persons saw through the shallow policy that dictated it. Mr. Canning did not trouble himself to notice these attacks; and even when, on the subject of the ill success in the Spanish peninsula, lord Castlereagh stated, that the marquis of Wellesley was appointed for the embassy on the 1st of May, but that *he was either* detained, or designedly delayed, till it was too late to be of any use,—the first part of which accusation was levelled at Mr. Canning, who was accused of delaying his lordship,—Mr. Canning left the refutation to time, and did not deign to reply to it.

The difficulties attending the formation of a new ministry, or rather supplying the vacated places, were great. Mr. Percival addressed the following letter to lords Grenville and Grey.

Hon. Spencer Percival to Lords Grey and Grenville.

"Windsor, Saturday, Sept. 23, 1809.

"My Lord,—The duke of Portland having signified to his Majesty his intention of retiring from his Majesty's service, in consequence of the state of his grace's health, his Majesty has authorised lord Liverpool, in conjunction with myself, to communicate with your lordship and lord Grey, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration.

"I hope, therefore, that your lordship, in consequence of this communication, will come to town, in order that as little time as possible may be lost in forwarding this important object; and that you will have the goodness to inform me of your arrival.

"I am also to acquaint your lordship, that I have received his Majesty's commands to make a similar communication to lord Grey, of his Majesty's pleasure.

"I think it proper to add, for your lordship's information, that lord Castlereagh and Mr. secretary Canning have intimated their intention to resign their offices.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"SPENCER PERCIVAL."

To this letter lord Grey replied as follows:—

Lord Grey to the Hon. Spencer Percival.

"Howick, Sept. 26.

"SIR,—I have this evening had the honour of receiving your letter of the 23d, informing me that, in consequence of the duke of Portland's intention of retiring from his Majesty's service, his Majesty had authorised you, in conjunction with the earl of Liverpool, to communicate with lord Grenville and myself, for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration;—and expressing a hope that, in consequence of this communication, I would come to town, in order that as little time as possible may be lost in forwarding this important object.

"Had his Majesty been pleased to signify that he had any commands for me personally, I should not have lost a moment in showing my duty and obedience, by a prompt attendance on his royal pleasure.

"But, when it is proposed to me to communicate with his Majesty's present ministers, for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, I feel that I should be wanting in duty to his Majesty, and in fairness to them, if I did not frankly and at once declare, that such an union is, with respect to me, under the present circumstances impossible. This being the case, I find myself under the necessity of stating, that my appearance in London could be of no advantage, and possibly, at a moment like the present, be attended with some inconvenience.

"I have thought it better to request, that you will have the goodness to lay my duty at the feet of his Majesty, humbly entreating him not to attribute to any want of attachment to his royal

person, or to diminished zeal for his service, my declining a communication which, on the terms proposed, could lead to no useful result, and which might be of serious detriment to the country, if, in consequence of a less decisive answer from me, any further delay should take place in the formation of a settled government.

"I am, &c.

"GREY."

Lord Grenville replied, that he deemed it an official notification of his Majesty, requiring his attendance in town; and immediately came to London, and then addressed Mr. Percival in these words:—

Lord Grenville to the Hon. Spencer Percival.

"Sept. 29, 1809.

"SIR,—Having last night arrived here, in humble obedience to his Majesty's commands, I think it now my duty to lose no time in expressing to you the necessity under which I feel myself, of declining the communication proposed in your letter, being satisfied that it could not, under the circumstances there mentioned, be productive of any public advantage.

"I trust, I need not say that this opinion is neither founded in any sentiment of personal hostility, nor in a desire of unnecessarily prolonging political differences.

"To compose, not to inflame, the divisions of the empire, has always been my anxious wish, and is now, more than ever, the duty of every loyal subject; but my accession to the existing administration, could, I am confident, in no respect contribute to this object; nor could it, I think, be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle.

"This answer, which I must have given to any proposal, if made while the government was yet entire, cannot be varied by the retreat of some of its members.

"My objections are not personal, they apply to the principles of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment.

"I have now, therefore, only to request that you will do me the honour of submitting, in the most respectful terms, these my humble opinions to his Majesty, accompanied by the dutiful and sincere assurance of my earnest desire, at all times, to testify, by all

such means as are in my power, my unvaried zeal for his Majesty's service.

"I am, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

Mr. Percival's reply to this contained the singular disclosure, that lords Grenville and Grey were to assist in forming an administration, in which they were to take no part—a thing totally unprecedented. The letter was as follows:—

Hon. Spencer Percival to Lord Grenville.

"Sept. 29, 1809.

"MY LORD,—I lost no time in communicating to lord Liverpool your lordship's letter of this day.

"It is with great concern that we have learnt from it, that your lordship feels yourself under the necessity of declining the communication which I had the honour to propose.

"In proposing to your lordship and lord Grey, under his Majesty's authority, to communicate with lord Liverpool and myself, not for the accession of your lordship to the present administration, but for the purpose of forming a combined and extended administration, no idea existed in our minds of the necessity of any dereliction of public principle on either side.

"Your lordship may rest assured, that, in communicating to his Majesty the necessity under which you feel yourself of declining the communication which I had the honour to propose to your lordship, I will do every justice to the respectful terms, and the dutiful and sincere assurance of your lordship's unwearied zeal for his Majesty's service, with which the expression of that necessity was accompanied.

"I cannot conclude without expressing the satisfaction of lord Liverpool and myself, at your lordship's assurance, that the failure of this proposal is not to be attributed to any sentiment of personal hostility.

"I have, &c. &c.

"SPENCER PERCIVAL."

The inquiry into the policy and conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt, commenced in February, 1810, and created some considerable sensation, involving, as it did,

the credit of one of the ministers who had resigned. An inquiry into lord Chatham's conduct was the result. Pending that inquiry, lord Chatham privately presented a narrative of the transaction to his Majesty. The impression was, that his lordship had endeavoured to shift the blame from his own, to the shoulders of his colleagues. A motion of censure on lord Chatham's conduct being brought forward, Mr. Canning acquitted lord Chatham of all motives of malignity. "But," said he, "however high gifted lord Chatham was in name and blood, he could not consent, as far as it depended on him, that he should be a splendid anomaly in the constitution. While in the public service, he should be subject to all those rules and regulations which the constitution had imposed upon the servants of the King and the public. He knew, from what had passed the other night, that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) would receive his vote with no great complacency; and assured him, that it was not without the utmost reluctance, that he voted with him on this occasion. He should, however, beg to suggest an amendment to the second resolution. He did not desire to be the proposer of the amendment himself; but he would throw out as a suggestion that it might be something of this kind.—'That the House had seen with regret, that the report of lord Chatham had been presented to his Majesty, without going through the regular department, and without being previously communicated to his colleagues; and that the desire of secresy expressed by his lordship, was a thing which ought not to be countenanced, as it might be pernicious to his Majesty's service, and the interest of the country.' This was not more than the House was bound in duty to do, while, at the same time, it was less severe than the course already proposed."

The Walcheren expedition drew forth the following personal attack from Mr. Whitbread, in reply to Mr. Canning's defence of himself.

Mr. Whitbread said,—"I look upon him (Mr. Canning) as a man more responsible than the noble lord (Castlereagh) for the failure of the expedition. I consider him as deeply responsible, for having done that which, in the history of the country, no other man could have been found to have done. That right honourable gentleman, knowing what the interests of the country required;—knowing, too, all those measures which were in contemplation and going on,—and having information of the expedition which was in preparation;—did, on the 16th of April last, go and declare to the duke of Portland, then at the head of the government, that the minister who was to have the conduct of the expedition, was not competent to his situation;—that the man on whom that duty devolved, however he might esteem him in private,—however he might value him for his good qualities and virtues,—was not competent to his public situation. Not satisfied with this, the right honourable gentleman went to his Majesty, to make the same communication, for fear of any mistake. But to the noble lord himself, he never communicated his opinion,—that he thought him incapable of performing the duties of his situation,—but suffered him to originate, and conduct to a close, the expedition which has terminated so disgracefully to the country.

"The noble lord has stated that the administration is founded on a rock. Little did the noble lord, on that occasion, suspect that the rock was mined;—little did he think that he was in danger of being blown aloft in the springing of the mine. But, as it often happens to him who kindles the train, the right honourable gentleman

who laid it, was also blown up with him. It was the wish of the right honourable gentleman to place the noble lord in another situation; a change which the generous feelings of that noble lord, and I am ready to give him credit for those generous feelings, could not be brought to brook or submit to. I am not disposed to enter into the consideration of the personal feelings and circumstances of the transaction between the right honourable gentleman and the noble lord;—but the right honourable gentleman has twice appealed to the public, and once again by his friends. As one of the public, I, leaving both the noble lord and the right honourable gentleman at the thresholds of their offices, and passing over every thing private or personal in the case, have a right, upon public grounds, to demand from the right honourable gentleman some satisfactory explanation. With regard to this whole proceeding, I profess myself to be the partisan of the noble lord, and not the abettor of the right honourable gentleman. So far as regards the public, I ask the right honourable gentleman how he can answer the question which I now call upon him to answer, and which has been put to him before,—a month since,—without obtaining any reply? I ask the right honourable gentleman, how he can answer to his sovereign,—how to this House,—how to the country?

"The expedition thus undertaken has failed; and I, therefore, have to call upon the House of Commons to avenge the public upon those ministers who have subjected the nation to this calamity;—but, above all, upon that individual who has declared to the duke of Portland, and, afterwards, for fear of mistake, went and declared to the King, that the minister entrusted with its conduct was incompetent to his situation."

After entering into a variety of other topics, Mr. Whitbread concluded his speech in these words—

"There is, indeed, from the centre to the circumference of the empire, one united, universal, heart-rending cry for justice. Give it, then, to the supplication of the people;—give it to the sorrows of the army;—give it, as the last consolation, to the widows and orphans of the dead;—give it as a pledge of the honour and integrity of the living!"

Mr. Canning never noticed this speech. He could not, according to the rules of debate, reply to it that night, as he had spoken.

This unfortunate expedition became the subject of much discussion, and subsequently led to the commitment of sir Francis Burdett; the circumstances of which we shall shortly detail.

On the 26th of March, 1810, the following conversation occurred in the House.

Mr. Lethbridge—"Sir, I wish to ask an honourable baronet, now in his place, whether he acknowledges a certain paper, signed by his name, which, with certain arguments upon the same subject, have appeared in a work pretty well known, I mean Mr. Cobbett's Register?"

Sir Francis Burdett—"The paper alluded to was signed with my name;—it is almost needless, therefore, for me to say, it was printed with my authority, and that the arguments which were affixed were drawn up by me."

Mr. Lethbridge—"I thank the honourable baronet for the frankness with which he has answered my question; and I have now only to give notice, that, considering that publication as a high insult upon this House,

and a gross violation of its privileges, it is my intention to submit a motion upon it to-morrow."

The next day the discussion was resumed, and proceeded as follows:—

Mr. Lethbridge said—That in pursuance of his promise, he had to call the attention of the House to the publication of which last night he complained. It was with pain and embarrassment that he undertook it; embarrassment such as he never before felt; but that the character of the House was at stake; and, added the honourable gentleman, "I rise to rescue it, by complaining of one of its members,—one of the members of the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,—for a gross and manifest violation of its privileges. It is not my intention to occupy the attention of the House by any unnecessary comment. I shall, therefore, content myself with laying this document on the table (holding Cobbett's Register in his hand.) And I now present it; that part which the honourable baronet has acknowledged." (At these words it was handed down to the clerk at the table.)

The speaker—"The clerk will read the paper, and the honourable gentleman will point out the objectionable part as the clerk proceeds,"

Mr. Lethbridge—"I have marked already, on the paper, those parts that strike me as objectionable; and I have done so, that the House might be saved the trouble of hearing the whole read."

The speaker said—"As a complaint has been given in against an individual member of the House, no gentleman can interfere till it is regularly read. The whole must be read, that the individual against whom it is made, may defend the whole or any part of it he may choose, if so he think expedient."

The clerk was proceeding to read, when

Lord Folkstone rose to order, and said—"The honourable member has declared that, in the publication to which he has alluded, there are expressions which he thinks a gross violation of the privileges of this House. Now, sir, I think it incumbent upon that honourable member to point out what those specific parts are, which are so obnoxious."

Mr. Lethbridge—"I have a very different view from any thing sinister, in this arduous undertaking; but I come forward to make the charge, not out of any personal hostility to the honourable baronet,—my objects are of a higher nature. As a member of Parliament, I think it my duty to hold in respect so high a body of men; and, therefore, I am ready to adopt any mode of proceeding, or any measure which they may think fit. I rather wished to avoid reading those specific obnoxious parts, because I thought it would only be insulting to them by repeating them."

The honourable member then read the parts he had marked. The first was the latter part of a letter from sir Francis Burdett to his constituents, *viz.*

"And, moreover, it is in the nature of all power, and especially of assumed and undefined power, to increase as it advances in age; and, as Magna Charta and the law of the land have not been sufficient to protect Mr. Jones,—as we have seen him sent to jail, for having described the conduct of one of the members as an outrage upon public feeling,—what security have we, unless this power of imprisonment be given up, that we shall not see other men sent to jail for stating their opinions respecting rotten boroughs,—respecting placemen and pensioners sitting in the House, or, in short, for any declaration,—giving any opinion,—stating any fact,—be-

traying any feeling, whether by writing, or by word of mouth and gesture, which may displease any of the gentlemen assembled in St. Stephen's chapel.

"Then, again, as to the kind of punishment, why should they stop at sending persons to jail? If they can send whom they please to jail;—if they can keep the people so sent in jail as long as they please;—if they can set their prisoners free at the end of the first hour, or keep them confined for seven years;—if, in short, their absolute will is to have the force of law, what security can you have that they will stop at imprisonment? If they have the absolute power of imprisoning and releasing, why may they not send their prisoners to York jail, as well as to jail in London? Why not confine men in solitary cells, or load them with chains and bolts? They have not gone these lengths yet; but what is there to restrain them, if they are to be the sole judges of the extent of their own powers; and if they are to execute those powers without any control, and without leaving the parties whom they choose to punish, any mode of appeal,—any means of redress.

* * * * *

"Had I not been prevented by indisposition from being present when the House of Commons passed, by vote, a sentence of imprisonment on Mr. Gale Jones, I should have endeavoured to show that, under the false notions of privilege, they were exercising a power, and committing an act of oppression, ill suited to the character of the guardians of public liberty, and destructive of the first and most important object of the constitution, *viz.* the personal security of the subject.

"The question for the people to consider is, whether a vote of the House of Commons can deprive them of these their imprescriptable rights? Many of the sta-

tutes which embody these principles of the common law, have declared that no order, writ, or commandment whatsoever, either from the king or any other, shall stop the common law. That it shall by no means be delayed, being the surest sanctuary for the innocent, and the strongest fortress to protect the weak. It has clipped the wings of high-flown prerogative, and will, I trust, yet dissolve the potent spell of undefined privilege of Parliament; for there are no powers or privileges, even the highest, that are not bounded by the known, ascertained law of the land. If, therefore, any man, or set of men, lay claim to privileges or powers not recognised by, but repugnant to, the law of the land, such claims ought to be legally resisted by every one who values regulated liberty, and abhors anarchy and despotism, the never-failing consequences of departing therefrom.

* * * * *

"That by proceeding thus, they have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them,—a jurisdiction beyond the limits of King, Lords, and Commons,—whilst Magna Charta remains unrepealed; *and repealed it never can be, till England shall have found a grave in the corruption of a House of Commons.*

* * * * *

"Let us apply this reasoning to the case before us. It hath been shown that the common law, Magna Charta, and the Trial by Jury, have been violated. We find Mr. Jones imprisoned for an act, the illegality of which has not been proved, the facts not ascertained, nor the law determined. Yet he is now undergoing such a sentence as hath been shown."

"These," said the honourable member, "are the principal passages on which I conceive myself justified

in making a charge against the honourable baronet, of violating the privileges of Parliament, by his publication of them."

The speaker then observed, that when an accusation of this description is made, it is always customary for the member accused forthwith to make his defence to it.

Sir Francis Burdett upon this immediately rose and stated, that what the honourable member had just read, most certainly were his sentiments, and he should never shrink from avowing them. He was perfectly willing to abide by the consequences of his opinion, whatever those consequences might be.

After some further discussion, the inquiry was adjourned, and resumed, Mr. Lethbridge having first moved the following resolutions.

1. That the publication in Cobbett's weekly paper, signed by sir Francis Burdett, bart. and acknowledged by him, is a libellous and scandalous violation of the rights and privileges of the House.

2. That sir Francis Burdett, bart. by signing and publishing the same, has committed a gross and scandalous violation of the privileges of the House.

The discussion recommenced on the 29th, on these resolutions, when a member asserted, that the motion was of treasury manufacture; and it was hinted, that Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh instigated Mr. Lethbridge to proceed;—this was denied by that honourable member. Mr. Canning was censured for silence; but he rightly judged, that, as the libel arose upon a matter with which he was connected, it would not be delicate for him to interfere; though, on the same day, he spoke on the subject of the expedition itself.

On the 5th of April, he urged the House to prevent the recurrence of delay by adjournment, and merely

said—"The subject has had all the advantages that delay can give it. It has been said, that the worthy baronet's offence was only a metaphor, but this honourable House has before taken notice of such metaphors. I must admit the honourable baronet to be a man of integrity and extraordinary talent, but I cannot acquit him of blame in the publication of the libel now before the House."

Sir Robert Salisbury moved that sir Francis should be committed to the Tower. Sheridan moved, as an amendment, that the House should adjourn. Sheridan's amendment was lost, by a majority of 38, and the baronet was ordered to be committed.

It seems, when the serjeant at arms announced the speaker's warrant to him, on the Friday, he desired him to call on him at 12 o'clock the next morning. On this, the messenger went back to the House of Commons, and was desired, by the speaker, to arrest the honourable baronet forthwith. Obedience, however, could not be exacted; and, supposing that the baronet might be gone to his house at Wimbledon, the two serjeants, and the high constable of Westminster, proceeded thither, whilst the messengers of the House remained stationed at the baronet's house in Piccadilly.

About half past one, the baronet arrived at his house in Piccadilly, having rode out merely to take the air. His approach was greeted by the salutations of the populace. Thousands had by this time assembled, and the entire street was completely blocked up by the multitude. About one hundred Horse Guards were drawn up in three rows with swords drawn, immediately facing sir Francis Burdett's house. All the shops in the neighbourhood, about the ends of Bond-street, St. James's-street, and in Piccadilly, were shut, and the windows and balconies full of people.

The Riot Act was read twice by three o'clock, and the Horse Guards, with their drawn swords, were seen trampling on the people in all directions. It was however useless; no sooner was one part of the crowd driven back, than another advanced.

The numerous reports which continually agitated this immense assemblage of people, were astonishing. The delay in the execution of the warrant, which was issued before eight o'clock on Friday morning, naturally gave rise to them. That sir Francis meant to resist the speaker's warrant as illegal, was well known, but it was supposed he would submit to force, though to nothing else. Between three and four o'clock a curious scene took place.

The sergeant at arms, who by that time arrived from Wimbledon, advanced to sir Francis's door, and demanded admittance. A servant opened the door, and demanded his business, but held it fast by the chain. The serjeant told his business; on which the servant replied that his master had ordered the door not to be opened to any one. On this, the serjeant with much dignity retired.

Several reasons were advanced for this delay on the part of sir Francis, in not obeying the speaker's warrant; he contested the legality of it, and maintained that he owed obedience to nothing less than a warrant under the royal signature, not having been tried by the laws of his country. It was also reported, that lord Moira, the constable of the Tower, had made some objections to receiving him into custody, unless the speaker's warrant was backed by the secretary of state, which the latter declined, fearing the consequences of a civil action for damages, as in the case of Wilkes. The lord mayor had also signified his repugnance to his being brought

through the city accompanied by a military force, apprehending great disturbances in consequence. Such was the fearful aspect of affairs in the metropolis. The baronet's house was blockaded by the military, and occasionally assaulted by the messengers of the House of Commons; but, in spite of all attempts, the besieged firmly kept his ground.

The mob filled the whole street before sir Francis's door, and the adjoining pavement on both sides, and compelled every carriage, waggon, or horseman, to do homage to the feelings by which they were animated, by uniting in the cry of "Burdett for ever!" and waving their hats in the air. Those who appeared reluctant, or too slow in the execution of the part assigned, were saluted with a shower of mud. Some private carriages, which attempted to pass without noticing the crowd, had their windows broken, and several gentlemen received a plentiful supply of mud. No person, of whatever rank or condition, was exempt from the insults of these partisans of liberty and sir Francis. Submission to their demands was the only means of safety; but, if reflection on the danger attending tumultuary assemblages could be hushed, the homage offered by many high tories to the first radical in the kingdom, would furnish ample field for the satirist.

The earl of Westmoreland, who happened to be riding past, was grossly insulted by the multitude. As the evening advanced, the crowd increased, gaining a constant accession; and had it been more favourable, there is no doubt they would have been much more numerous. About nine o'clock, the multitude assembled before the door of sir Francis Burdett was so great as completely to obstruct the passage through Piccadilly. Between eight and nine o'clock, a detachment proceeded

to attack a house in Berkeley Square, supposed to be Mr. Lethbridge's, but which was in the possession of Mr. Raikes. The mob, however, destroyed the whole of the windows before the mistake was discovered—the dead body of Mrs. Raikes was at that time in the house. Finding their mistake, they then sought Mr. Lethbridge at one of the hotels he was accustomed to frequent, but, fortunately for that gentleman, they sought in vain. The mob next proceeded to the house of lord Castlereagh, in King Street, St. James's, of which the whole of the windows were instantly demolished. Returning again to Berkeley Square, the crowd attacked lord Dartmouth's house, and treated it in the same manner. They then proceeded to the house of Mr. Yorke, which experienced so violent an attack, that in a few moments not a single pane of glass remained whole. Mr. Percival's windows were also broken. Sir John Anstruther's house was much injured, and some damage done to the furniture, besides breaking the windows. These proceedings induced some of the inhabitants to put lights in their windows, in the hope that they would thereby avert the fury of the assailants. This circumstance was quickly seized upon by the multitude, and they very inconsistently required lights to be shown as a proof of concurrence in their sentiments respecting sir Francis Burdett. The consequence was, that all the streets at the west end of the town were brilliantly illuminated. A large mob was advancing against lord Chatham's house, in Hill Street, but a troop of the Horse Guards, which had been called out, met the assailants, and dispersed them.

It is a singular fact, that *no attack was made on Mr. Canning's dwelling*, and this is a strong proof of the public feeling in favour of that gentleman.

Sir Francis sent a request to the sheriff of Middlesex for protection against violence, and alderman Wood accordingly placed officers at the baronet's door, and made the military remove to a distance.

Affairs now took a serious aspect; a detachment of the 15th light dragoons appeared, and were hooted and hissed by the people, who, from their being dressed like hussars, and having mustachios, supposed them to be German troops. Troops of artillery, with field pieces and ammunition, also arrived from Woolwich, and were stationed in St. James's Park. A howitzer and a six-pounder were placed in Soho Square, and two field-pieces in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Several of the volunteer corps were under arms; but they were not required to march into the streets. Towards dusk, the people became more disorderly than they were during the day. Every abusive epithet which they could use, was plentifully bestowed upon the soldiers, and in the dark many stones were thrown at them, which provoked them to drive the people off the pavement, and throw others down. They also beat several with their swords, and a great many had their heads and different parts of their bodies cut. Late in the evening, the crowd became much more alarming, and threatened the windows of those who declined to illuminate, and the soldiers endeavoured to prevent their demand being complied with; but the inhabitants, afraid of their windows, partially illuminated. At one period, the opposition to the military was so great, that they were compelled to ride in among the crowd, and beat a number of them with their swords, which excited the utmost resentment of the people, and two pistols were fired, as it was supposed from windows, which it is said wounded two of the Horse Guards.

About one o'clock on Sunday morning, the two she-

riffs, Mr. Wood and Mr. Atkins, waited on sir Francis Burdett. Mr. sheriff Wood declared that he had no doubt as to the illegality of the warrant, nor as to the course which it would be his duty to pursue. Mr. Atkins had very considerable doubts on his mind. He thought the warrant must be legal, as it was directed that the officer of the House of Commons shall call in all mayors, sheriffs, magistrates, and others, to assist him in its execution; but they both declared that no attempt would be made to execute the writ before Monday; and on Monday morning, Mr. sheriff Wood said he would attend with his officers. Sir Francis wished the sheriff to remain in the house, to keep the peace, and said he had one spare bed; but Mr. Wood said he thought it was not necessary, and they both retired.

During this time, the Cabinet and Privy Council had met. The opinion of the law officers of the Crown had been taken, and orders had been transmitted from the War Office, in every direction, for every regiment within one hundred miles of London to march to the metropolis forthwith.

On the following Monday (April 9), whilst sir Francis was hearing his son translate Magna Charta, a man attempted to get in at the window, but was prevented by Mr. O'Connor. This was merely a *ruse de guerre*, for, in the meantime, the area window had been burst open, and the officers entered. Force was used, as sir Francis refused to obey the warrant; but merely so much as might enable the baronet to say he went under restraint. He entered a coach with Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Jones Burdett, and was driven off at a rapid rate. It is impossible to describe the tumult, or the multitude; but the carriage, surrounded by upwards of two thousand soldiers, proceeded to the Tower, where sir Francis alighted at one o'clock.

In the discussions that immediately followed this arrest, Mr. Canning took no part.

A little previous to the charge against sir Francis Burdett, Gale Jones had been committed for a libel. On a motion for his release, by sir Samuel Romilly, on the 16th of April, Mr. Canning spoke as follows:—

"I have no doubt of the existence of the privilege claimed by the House in this case, *or of the propriety of exercising it on a late occasion.* When the question was argued respecting the commitment of sir Francis Burdett, an argument was used which had considerable influence with me;—it was, that if the House did not commit in the latter case, that they would show that they exercised their privilege, not against the great, but against the small. On the same principle, I shall vote for Mr. Jones's release."

When the Westminster petition for the release of sir Francis was presented, Mr. Canning voted *for* its reception.

On Thursday, the 21st of June, sir Francis and Mr. Gale Jones* were both liberated, Parliament being prorogued.

Amid all the obloquy heaped upon ministerial men during this affair, Mr. Canning's conduct is undeserving of any,—he never spoke against sir Francis,—he voted for the liberation of Jones; and, though he defended the right of the Commons to commit for libel, he bore testimony to the character and qualities of the baronet. Mr. Canning was not in power, and could not have interfered in his behalf. Public feeling was certainly not directed against him, for, though Percival, Castlereagh,

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* Gale Jones complained that he had been turned out of prison, at *two minutes' notice.*—"Is that a hardship?" said Sheridan.

(who was also out of office), and others, were attacked, Mr. Canning was never personally annoyed on entering or leaving the House.

In the September of this year, the celebrated examination into sinecures took place; Mr. Canning was not in office, and of course the inquiry had no reference to him; but had he been, he could well have stood the test; for no individual that ever possessed place, rested less than our hero. Mr. Canning was favourable to the inquiry.

The Princess Amelia expired on the 2d of November, and the King was taken alarmingly ill. He used to visit his afflicted child daily; and she had, in the anticipation of her dissolution, ordered a ring, containing a lock of her hair, to be made. On this ring was inscribed her name, and the words "REMEMBER ME." On one of his Majesty's visits, as he held the hand of his beloved child, she slipped the ring upon his finger. Such was the effect upon his feelings, that he instantly became low and desponding, and was shortly after deprived of his reason. Romance affords no incident more affecting than this—history no truer test of a father's affection. Parliament, which had been prorogued, and which met on the 1st of November, was adjourned by motion till the 15th.

On the 15th December, a committee of twenty-one members was formed, to examine the physicians who attended upon his Majesty, and report to the House the state of the King's health. Mr. Canning served on this committee.

Shortly after this national calamity, the Prince of Wales was appointed regent.

About this time, some weak jests appeared in the opposition papers, on a ship-owner, who had named his trading vessel "The George Canning." One of which ran as follows:—

"My name to a merchantman!" Canning exclaims,
"Why, what can this christening be for—
When Castlereagh owns that, through life, all my aims
Have been to be call'd man of war?"

During the remainder of the year 1810, and the whole of 1811, Mr. Canning scarcely ever spoke in the House. He was, indeed, in an awkward situation; for his sentiments were with the party with whom he was not acting. He voted on a few questions. But this period is a mere blank in his political history.

On the 3d February, 1812, on the motion of lord Morpeth, the Catholic Question came on, and Mr. Canning delivered his sentiments in the following words:—

"Having heard my right honourable and learned friend point out, not only what are the reasons for disallowing the Catholic Claims now, but also express the opinions of those who are determined to shut the door for ever against the admission of those claims, it becomes me, in the discharge of my duty, clearly to explain my sentiments on this subject. I deeply regret that the discussion has, at this time, been brought forward, as the speech of my right honourable and learned friend is calculated to cherish and keep alive those animosities, which should rather be buried in eternal oblivion; but, since it has been brought under the consideration of the House, I rejoice that the task of doing it has fallen to the lot of the noble viscount; for he has discharged the duty with that wisdom and talent which entitles him to the applauses of every one, but which those who know him had the confidence to anticipate. It is a source of satisfaction to me, to be able to agree with my noble friend in many of his propositions; but the satisfaction is not unalloyed, in the mortification I feel to be compelled to differ with him in some of his arguments; but I trust I shall be able

to discuss the subject with that temper of which I have so eminent an example in my noble friend. My lord Morpeth has set out with disclaiming any intention of dwelling at length on those events which took place in the course of last summer; but, considering the situation in which the Irish government was then placed, it would have incurred a fearful responsibility, had it presumed to have acted contrary to the legal opinions which had recommended the course which has been pursued. The question was discussed before a competent tribunal; and, unless an extraordinary and imperious necessity called for the interference of the House, it ought to be left to the discretion of that tribunal. Cases, no doubt, occur, in which it would be proper to suspend the exercise of the ordinary authorities by the supreme powers of Parliament; yet those cases must be out of the ordinary course; and the situations in which Parliament was liable to be called upon, to exert its extraordinary but undoubted right of interference with the common legal authorities, do not, in my opinion, now exist. Whether the Irish government has acted rightly, or mistaken their object, I think it would be unwise now to interpose the authority of Parliament. I am prepared, however, to grant, that acting in mere conformity to law, does not, of necessity, imply the assurance of having acted in a commendable manner. I am not now prepared to go into the motives which regulated the conduct of those persons to whom the government of Ireland has been entrusted. The Catholics may certainly have conducted themselves in a manner that may appear to justify a certain degree of apprehension; and it is my sincere wish, on this great and momentous question, to avoid acting with the spirit of a partisan. My object is to promote, to the utmost extent of my

power and ability, the permanent good and tranquillity of all parties. My honourable and learned friend has talked of the expectations arising out of the promises held forth at the time of the Union. As to promises, there have been none; but, as to expectation, there certainly has been a great deal. Expectations have been held out, the disappointment of which involves the moral guilt of an absolute breach of faith. It has been argued, unquestionably argued, that whatever decision, with respect to the Catholic Claims, the honourable House might ultimately arrive at, the measure of the Union is the only one which can ensure to these claims a fair, calm, and temperate discussion; that the question would, under a consideration of this measure, be transferred to a tribunal, where, at least, it would be sure of a calm and deliberate, a fair and impartial hearing—where it would be dispassionately examined in all its bearings—and where every concession, which did not absolutely involve the safety of our political and religious institutions, would be made in the mild and mercy-breathing spirit of charity—the boast of Christianity—the practice of Britons.

"But, if there ever was a measure tending 'to keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope,' it is couched in the propositions of my honourable and learned friend (sir John Nichols), which shut the door for ever against the admission of the Catholic Claims. I agree with my noble friend (lord Morpeth) on the importance of the subject to which our attention is drawn; but the noble viscount has said, that the question could only be viewed in one simple light, and, if I could have coincided with him, I must of necessity have given him my vote. If my noble friend could succeed in convincing me, that the only course the honourable House has to

pursue, is to consider on the propriety and expediency of retracing its steps altogether, and reducing the great body of the Catholics to utter despair, by annulling all the concessions already made, and abrogating all laws which have hitherto been passed in their favour;—or, to proceed to the final adjustment of the Catholic Claims—in consummating their dearest wishes,—in admitting the persecuted members of the church of Rome to the immunities of freedom, and exalting them into a sense of their constitutional importance, as free members of a free state.

"If, sir, I say, the only question before the House were, whether it were best to proceed or turn back,—there is, there can be, no doubt to which alternative I should give the preference,—a sense of justice would dictate my course;—I should vote on the side of the weak against the strong; and relieve, as far as I individually might, the oppressed Catholic from the tyranny which fear, in the first instance, imposed, and an ignorant and pertinacious clinging to custom has continued, and would now perpetuate.

"My very honourable and learned friend has told us, indeed, that we ought to stop where we are; but, sir, in deciding upon that proposition, a due attention must be paid to time and circumstances. What is the present condition of Ireland?—there is a great, an active, an intelligent population, excluded from the pale of the constitution, but to which great political privileges have been conceded;—which has been gradually advanced to the limits of the constitution, and then told it must not hope to get into the inclosure—to be admitted into the political fold. This has been the course pursued during the reign of his present Majesty; and yet, according to my honourable and learned friend, the more you

restrict, the more you quiet them;—yes, according to the proverb, 'dead men tell no tales.' The maxim and the adage may be alike carried too far. After having gone thus far;—after having thought it right to remove many of the restrictions to which the Catholics have been subjected, I, for one, am not willing to declare, now, that, in no time, and under no circumstance, I will proceed no further in the work of amelioration, after having, in reality, removed the disqualifications of the Catholics, I cannot admit the propriety of retaining the brand by which distrust has been marked.

"Considering the question retrospectively, I am sensible that there were formerly many grounds for these restrictions, which do not now exist; and that the onus of proving the necessity for their continuation, rests with those who defend, not a system, but the fragments of one;—who maintain that the safety of the state depends upon adhering to the remains of a plan, which can serve no other purpose, than to mark, to future ages, what the system had once been.

"The view I take of the question is merely political. My learned friend has said, that he would not enter particularly into the consideration of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and other peculiar features of the Catholic religion. Why did he not?—Because he took all these things in their worst sense. When a belief in transubstantiation was made the ground of exclusion, it was not the doctrine that was intended to be condemned. The belief was, at the time of imposing the disqualifications, the sign of political principles adverse to the constitution and liberties of the country. It never, surely, had been the intentions of those who originated the Catholic disqualifications, to decide upon abstract points of theology;—the religious creed was then regarded as

the sign of political opinions, and hence the restrictions of the Catholics. That these had not been imposed on light grounds, the history of the world sufficiently proves.

"I do not mean to go back to centuries of persecution, and justify the restrictions, on the ground that Ireland was a conquered country. I might, with an equal portion of reason, contend for the continuation of any system here, merely because it had been established in the time of William the Conqueror. But I am compelled to go back to the period of the Reformation. Excellent as the effects of this event undoubtedly were, in many points of view, the political consequence certainly was the splitting into different religious parties the children of the same soil. The agreement in religious opinions was then often a stronger bond of connexion than that of a common country. Under these circumstances, it might have been proper that the dominant sect should place the rest under certain restrictions. Such restrictions were therefore imposed, and continued for a longer or a shorter time, according to circumstances. The facts were, however, far from justifying the generality of my learned friend's observations. He should have told us, that the thirteen Swiss cantons were composed, part of Catholics and part of Protestants, and three of them of both; and yet they had gone on for two centuries, in political harmony together; and then proceeded to show that the same rule was not applicable to large states as to small. I will not enter at present into this consideration; but this fact would have proved, that it had not been impossible, even in past times, for men of different opinions in matters of religion, to coalesce politically as a nation. But is there no other nation where this union prevailed? Has there been, in no other quarter, an equality with regard to political privileges, joined with

a difference of religious sentiment? What, if this union had existed in France? By the edict of Nantz, Protestants were placed, as to all political advantages, on an equal footing with the Catholics. In this situation matters continued during the lapse of upwards of eighty years. It was provided by that edict, that all the people, Catholics and Protestants, should be admitted to dignities and offices of all kinds, without any difference on account of religious opinions; and that no oath should be required, except that of fidelity to the king. Henry the Fourth, for it was no worse than he that spoke, declared, that every office of the state should be open to all his subjects indifferently, without regard to religious differences.

"I trust it will not be imagined, Sir, that I am anxious to recommend the example of France and its new philosophy. What I said was, that a monarch, whom all the world join in admiring, had thought that the best means of putting an end to internal divisions, was by placing his subjects all on an equal footing as to political privileges. And these were not the worst times of France, when Sully was its minister, and Turenne and Saxe at the head of its armies. A monarch, whose court was at once the model and the terror of his neighbours, in a moment of weakness, at the instigation of a jesuitical priest, revoked the edict of Nantz. Let any one look at the history of France since that period, and say whether he would prefer the time when the edict subsisted, or the time subsequent to its revocation. Who would not put his finger on the former epoch, and make choice of that without hesitation? But, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Continent was convulsed with religious persecutions. When this country adopted the reformed religion, every foreign attack upon it was sure

to be visited with some severe restriction on Ireland. The shores of England were covered with Protestants, seeking protection and liberty. This was the consequence of continental convulsion. But, look at the flying clergy in 1695, and at those who fled from the late atheistical persecutions. Were these events calculated to operate in a similar way, or did they require a similar remedy? When all religion is threatened, the lesser danger must be overlooked, to meet the greater.

"It has lately become a fashion to say, that the concessions to the Catholics have only taken place at times when they were extorted by the distress of the country: but assertions of this kind are not well founded. The concessions in 1782 had been made to the Protestants of Ireland as well as to the Catholics; and it is unfair to say, that they have been extorted. They had, in truth, been sometimes an unforeseen and unexpected boon. The period is now come, however, when the propriety of continuing any of these restrictions may be calmly and temperately discussed. This is the effect of the Union; and yet those who were loudest in supporting the Catholic Claims, have proposed the repeal of the Union; and a motion to that effect is actually depending in this House. What! repeal the Union? establish the heptarchy? If a person were to sit down and contrive what would be most likely to prevent the granting of the Catholic Claims, he could not find out a more effectual method than that of proposing to repeal the Union. With such a question pending in the House, I think it impossible for us to entertain the consideration of the present subject, in the way which its magnitude deserves.

"Suppose the honourable gentleman succeeds in repealing the Union,—what will be the situation of the present question? It would be unsafe then to concede

the Catholic Claims, and it would be little short of high treason for the House to determine on a subject which belonged to Ireland separately. But, looking at the question independently of this consideration, I ask, why you have given the Catholics the right to vote for members, if you mean to exclude them from seats in Parliament? Why admit them to the bar, if you mean to shut up the avenues to the bench? Why admit them to so much, if you condemn them to an eternal exclusion from all the rest? Oh! profound ignorance of human nature! To concede so far, and then imagine that an active and intelligent people are to be satisfied with an everlasting exclusion, when they have reached almost the very pinnacle of their ambition! The Catholics having been admitted to the inferior office, must at last be admitted to the superior. I entreat the House to consider what would be the consequence of a bar almost entirely Catholic, with a bench from which they were eternally excluded. I have the highest opinion of the profession of the bar, which has produced so many persons who have shone in the service of the state, and have illustrated the importance of their profession, by the brilliant examples they have afforded; but, if the bar be illiberalised, and, as is the case with great part of the profession in Ireland, confined merely to the acquisition of money for professional assiduity, will not the character of the bar be materially altered? If the bar of Ireland is to remain the limit and barrier which is to be put to the hopes and ambition of its votaries, is it not a matter for serious consideration?

"Such is the undeniable situation of the country, that it must look to war, not as an occasional calamity, but as a permanent evil. We must look at it as the element which, for years, we must expect to breathe.

It has been justly stated, that the numbers of the Catholics in the army were great; and there can be no doubt that they may be still greater; as long as hope remains, there will be the spirit of emulation and ambition. But, while it is admitted on all hands that their services are most beneficial and most exemplary, there are difficulties entertained about the existence of a Catholic general. There might be Protestant generals commanding Catholic armies, and even a foreign Catholic might command Protestant soldiers; but still, no native Catholic is to be permitted to hold a command over his fellow-subjects, whatever their religion might be. The learned gentleman seems to think that this state of things should remain permanent. He has asked me if I am prepared to give up all. I am not prepared to do so: but I will ask him, in God's name, not to shut the door against the claims of the Catholics—not to adopt that strange mode proposed, which was called a tranquillising vote, on such a subject. People were afraid of seeing a Catholic lord chancellor, or a Catholic general; and that the Pope and Bonaparte, being both friends together, would have a wonderful influence upon such persons. But I see reasons to suspect the existence of this apprehended danger. There have been times in Europe, when a geographer could have described, by colouring his map, what were the Catholic and what were the Protestant states of that quarter of the globe; and the distinctions of his colours would have been emblematical of the different policy, interest, and union, of the various states. But, thanks to Bonaparte, among all his various acts of usurpation and atrocity, he has exalted the notion and feeling of patriotism far above any thing that could be derived from belonging to any particular sect. He has made it the interest

of all to look at the state of the civilised world, with only two distinctions, namely, what was, and what was not, French.

"There have been times when leagues had been formed of Catholic powers against the advancement of the Protestant cause and interest, and which created the necessity for all states which had embraced the tenets of the reformed religion, to combine against the attempt of the ancient and corrupted ecclesiastical establishment; but let any man now look at the map of Europe, coloured as it may be, and see how distinctions, founded upon religious differences, actually apply. What would they discover in the conduct of Bonaparte, the sovereign of France, the successor of her ancient kings, the eldest son of the church? Was it, indeed, only with Catholic people and Catholic states that he formed his alliances? or to them alone, that he extended what he called his protection? Let the House look at the present map of Europe—look at Lutheran Saxony, under his authority—at all Protestant Germany, partitioned as it has been, at his will—at Protestant Denmark and Protestant Sweden—at Calvinistic Prussia and Anticatholic Russia—yet struggling in his toils. Yet there are to be found not a few persons, in this country, whose language seems to say, that it is the power of the Pope, and not the terrors of Bonaparte, that we are to apprehend—that our fears are to be excited here, in our own land, by the thunders of the Vatican, and not by those of the artillery of the commander who rules over France—that he, after exhausting all terrestrial means of attacking us, would, if the Catholic Petition were agreed to, resort speedily to a spiritual assault—and that, when all the ordinary modes of human warfare proved ineffectual, he would call in the aid of bulls and indulgences, and the other machinery

of ecclesiastical hostility. How is it that he has made no use of the holy inquisition? We are now encouraging, by every means, the cause, and actually fighting the battles of those who resisted his oppressions; who were, after all, the most attached and the most bigoted to the Romish faith, of all the nations of Europe,—namely, the patriotic inhabitants of the Peninsula. Yet they are precisely the people, who most steadily, sincerely, and bravely, oppose themselves to his schemes of daring conquest and unjust dominion. In that part of our political conduct we have done that which was perfectly right, both in its justice and in its policy. Whenever it comes under examination or review, it will, I am confident, in the many bright pages of our history, be found to be amongst the brightest. It has been supposed by many, that in what we have attempted in the Peninsula, and what we still continue to do there, we are endeavouring something beyond our means. Different as my opinion may be, this is not the time for entering upon such a discussion; but this I must say, that when we are pouring out the population of Catholic Ireland, to aid the just cause of Catholic Spain, we ought to look upon charges, founded on the religion of individuals, with no small degree of suspicion. It seems as if the mighty perils in which we are placed, have not the power to rouse us to an adequate sense of our difficulties and our dangers; and that we act like men, who, in the midst of a dreadful conflagration, are more eager to run all risks for the preservation of some petty private property, than to prevent the general threatened devastation. It may seem as if, while in the act of witnessing the awful convulsions of Nature, which have changed the course of the stream, and dried up the ancient channel, we were standing on the original banks, conceiving the river to be still impas-

sable. But still it is contended, that concessions to the Catholics would not only create great danger, but would have a tendency to overthrow the established church. But, Sir, the *onus probandi* in this part of the discussion lays not with me, but with the honourable and learned gentleman. If the Catholics of Ireland were so exceedingly ignorant as has been represented, and subject only to the influence of ignorant though bigoted priests, I cannot perceive in what manner they can become so very formidable. What sort of hostilities can be waged against a great civil power, combined with an ecclesiastical power, with all its natural ties and attachments—all its long-existing authorities—all its endowments—and its sympathising interests—by a number of ignorant Catholics, even by the advice and assistance of a number of ignorant priests? Is this a formidable description of imminent danger? The learned gentleman has disclaimed imputing to the Catholics a disposition to make war upon every other establishment of religion; but if he disclaim this, he ought at least to prove his other grounds of objection. He declines entering into particular questions. This is by no means satisfactory; for it is, in truth, in those very particulars that the reasons are to be found for those precautionary measures which have been adopted against the Roman Catholics. And, in order to make his own opinions clear, it becomes absolutely necessary that the learned gentleman should explain this part of the subject.

"Such is the state of opinions, that those are not wanting who think that the additional gift proposed to the Catholics will form a greater era, and make a greater change in the country, than any it has experienced since the Reformation, by any revolution, though involving the dethronement of a king, the change of a protestant church

establishment, and the change of the legislature itself. But such objections divide the consideration of the question into two points: the will and the power of the party to whom this concession should be made. Why should it be imputed that they have the will to effect such a change? The desire to prevail is common to all classes, of whatever faith; and it is perfectly true, that the Catholic religion is predominant at this day in most kingdoms in the world; but, although that be the fact, I deny that in states not Catholic,—that under Protestant establishments,—the Catholics have attempted to raise their own hierarchy. For the truth of this assertion, I confidently appeal to the history of modern Europe. But if the attempt were made, how is it to be met? By reason; and, if that were not sufficient—by force. I beg leave to call the attention of the learned gentleman to the history of the Christian church, even before it became civilly and politically established; a branch of knowledge, in which I believe that the learned gentleman must have the advantage of me, and which is useful in looking at this question. If reason has no effect in any imaginary future claim of the Catholics, such claim, irregularly enforced, should be met by the same measures used to suppress a rebellion. But we have given them rights, influence, powers,—we have given them great moral force in society; and now, by a strange and repulsive conduct, we turn round to deprive them of the means of using them. Is it not strange to talk of dangers of this description to the church of England,—of which it has been justly said, that she had been nursed in persecution, by which she had learned mercy,—to the church of England, with all the influence, and piety, and honours, and emoluments, and learning, with which she can defend herself? This is not the time or place to enter into a discussion of

what are the real dangers of the church; though, whatever they are, they exist in very different causes. The church is sufficiently powerful for her own defence, and would not be left without strenuous exertions in her support, from the love, and esteem, and veneration of all those whom such a church comforted and consoled. Cemented as her connexion is with the state, rivetted in the affections of so great a portion of our fellow subjects, and purified and consecrated by the blood of martyrs, is she to fear the efforts of sectaries?—No;—I repeat, the *onus probandi* lies with those who depict her dangers.

"I think it a great error to look at this question as if it were to be settled by a negociation between two hostile powers. That is not my notion of legislation, as a friend to wholesome deliberation. Parliament may make the gift: let the parties take it, or leave it; but it cannot be done on the claim of right, which is quite untenable; that question, like the Union, cannot be made matter of argument. No dispute can be entertained on the right of Parliament to defend the Constitution against danger. It is a question of expediency; but I do not view the present motion as wise or salutary at the present time, and under the present circumstances. The Irish Catholics themselves have adjourned their meetings for the purpose of framing and carrying up a petition to the throne, from which they have received all the benefits that have been conferred on them during this reign. The existing irritation in Ireland is no ground for going into a committee, since that is an incidental circumstance relating to the law of the land, and not implicating the general question, which should not be regarded, at any time, as a trial of strength, but looked at on its own merits; nor should it be brought forward annually, as a question of party, which would only protract the final settlement. It should have the

chance of being so introduced, as to be likely to be successful. When the intention was avowed of petitioning the executive, the warmest friend of the measure should have allowed a reasonable time, and have refrained from bringing the matter into Parliament, and intercepting the coming grace of the throne. None who converse at large can be ignorant of the prejudices existing, which time and reasoning can alone overcome. This moment of heat is not the time. If I may presume to advise, I say, do not press your claims at present; they neither have flattering hopes of success, nor the awful certainty of despair. If they were in the latter case, I might excuse them for complaint, instead of solicitation, as it gives me at once a species of consolation, and even of vengeance. That is not the situation of the Catholics. I feel I am discharging a faithful duty, from which no popularity can be expected.

"Wishing well to the Catholics, not as such, but as part of the empire, I wish the question at rest; not in the way of victory, but of conciliation; not so as to attack the honest prejudices of Protestants, but so as to remove them. The time will come, and that, I trust, at no great distance, when mutual moderation and reflection will produce *general concurrence*. But the present motion can be only grateful to those who wish the door of hope to be closed for ever. Seeing, therefore, that it can be productive of no advantage, having reviewed all the circumstances of the case, and fairly expressed my opinion upon the matter, I feel it my duty to give it a negative."

At this period, (February 1812,) a new administration was much spoken of. On the 15th, the Prince Regent's letter, stating "that he should feel the highest gratification, if some of those with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands,

and constitute a part of his government," was made public. The answer of lords Grey and Grenville, who declined to join Mr. Percival, was also published. The marquis of Wellesley resigned the seals of the foreign department, and the earl of Liverpool was immediately appointed.

It was then understood that the Catholic should no longer be considered as a government question; and, on a debate on the state of the nation, (27th of February,) Mr. Canning said—

"It is painful to state an independent opinion upon such a subject as the one now before the House; yet it is a duty from which no man should shrink. In the formation of a new administration, there are two material questions that press themselves upon the country and upon my mind. One, the military transactions abroad; the other, the peace and tranquillity of the empire, and especially of Ireland. To the military transactions I give my warmest support; but it is material to consider on what grounds the tranquillity of the kingdom is to rest. On a former night I opposed the motion concerning the Catholics of Ireland, because it involved a censure of ministers, whom I did not deem censurable; and because I did not think the mode of bringing forth the motion well chosen. I did not approve of the mode, because I conceived that much benefit would result from the question being brought before Parliament, by the executive government. Now, however, the matter is changed; and I deem it a most serious question, when it is considered what we have heard from two ministers this night, that the doors are to be shut for ever against those Claims. I can collect no other meaning but that, as long as the government continued on its present basis, there is no chance of that question originating with it. Peti-

tions, indeed, may be received from Ireland; but the hope I entertained, that the Catholic Question would be brought forward as a measure of government, is now lost for ever. The chancellor of the exchequer has said, that a time may come, when their Claims may be allowed; but I do not see when it can come. What subtleties! what refinements! It was objected to an orator of old, that he dealt too much in refinement. 'Aye,' said he, 'but I speak to Athenians.' To whom did the right honourable gentleman speak? To what people were those distinctions addressed? To a people who had warm and generous hearts to feel, but not minds qualified to discriminate—to persons unenlightened, rude, and uncultivated—who believe in certain mysteries that stagger our faith, but which certainly does not exceed the mysteries of these refinements.

"The declaration, however, amounts to this—to a denunciation of perpetual and hopeless exclusion, so long as the right honourable gentleman remains in office The noble lord has said, that his opinion has remained the same as mine, when we were in office together. But has nothing happened since? I think I may state it constitutionally, and I stated it as an opinion upon which I acted in taking office, and upon which I acted in office, that the sovereign has an individual opinion on all subjects presented to him by the legislature: and those who question that, must question many of the acts of King William—many of the acts of that period nearest the renovation of our constitution, when we had a natural jealousy of all that could impair its freshness. It is a question for the administration to decide upon, to which the noble lord has alluded, whether they will press their opinion at all risks, or whether they will leave the con-

science of their sovereign unwrung upon that delicate point.

"The obstacle that exists is a great one; but it is no greater than what a loving father interposes to an expecting but not undutiful child. I would have consented to concede the Claims then, but that one, whom the constitution has armed with power to annul the consent, has intimated his intention. I feel that circumstances are now changed—I feel that that obstacle is removed—but even if I did not see that change, is it likely that they who are most interested, would not found hopes upon it? They have looked forward to a removal of this obstacle, as a period when their griefs would be heard, and perhaps redressed. And what must be the effect of this disappointment upon their minds? What is always the effect of disappointed hope on the human mind? I am speaking to an audience capable of feeling these questions. Is it possible that this debate can go to Ireland, and not excite the strongest sensations? The completion of their long-nourished desires do not now depend upon the life of an aged man—a life they would not shorten one day, by their wishes, to gain their views—but upon the continuation of the present Minister in favour. But what might have been conceded to such a man—to his age—to his sufferings—to the memory of what he has done for his people—will not be conceded to the virtues and services of my right honourable friend. A question of this vital importance is now to be brought before the House in a new way—not as a government one, but as one on which every person will be at liberty to vote according to their real feelings. And there is a possibility, nay, a probability, that ministers will be found voting against each other. Reference has been made to the

Slave Trade, in justification of this plan; but I think it the most fortunate part of that transaction, that it was at last taken up as a government question, when the trade received its final blow. If that, therefore, is cited as an example, I wish it also to be cited as a warning. It lingered on, year after year, till it was brought forward, though by a discordant administration, as a ministerial measure; and that is the only way in which the Catholic question ought to be treated."

On the Catholic question, (24th of April), Mr. Canning spoke again, and was in the minority that voted *for* emancipation.

The particulars of the assassination of Mr. Percival by Bellingham are too well known for repetition; it took place in the lobby of the House of Commons, on the 11th of May, 1812. The Prince Regent sent a message to the House, recommending a provision for Mr. Percival's family, and Mr. Canning was to have proposed it to the House, but (as stated by lord Castlereagh) was "prevented by the acuteness of his sensibility." Mr. Canning spoke on the question in evident emotion, and remarked, that "no man had ever differed with Mr. Percival without acknowledging that even his errors were errors of virtue." He voted for the annuity of £2000 to the widow, and £1000 to the son, with benefit of survivorship.

On Mr. Wortley's motion for an address to the Regent, praying the formation of a strong and efficient administration, it was stated, that the earl of Liverpool had offered place to Mr. Canning, which that gentleman had refused.

Mr. Canning, evidently unwillingly, spoke in reply—"That I have been offered a place, is most true. I will not, however, accept office, without possessing that power which ought to be its companion. When my

noble friend, lord Liverpool, applied to me, I asked if any change, as respected the Catholic question, had taken place in the Cabinet? His lordship replied, 'None—nor was he aware that there was any alteration in the opinions of his colleagues on that subject.' Under these circumstances, and consistent with the professions I have made, and the motion* of which I have given notice, how is it possible I could act with my noble friend?"

Mr. Canning voted for the address.

Lord Melville was appointed a mediator between the ministers and Mr. Canning, and for three days was said to be sedulously employed in prevailing on him to join the earl of Liverpool.

On the 3d of June, 1812, Mr. Canning informed the House of Commons that the marquis of Wellesley had received the commands of the Prince to form an administration.

Speaking of the Cabinet, on the same day, in the Upper House, the marquis took occasion to observe, that shocking personal animosities prevailed in it; an observation that was much cavilled at by lord Grey and his party, and which occasioned an inquiry on the following Friday, when the noble marquis explained, and stated that the Prince Regent had expressed his earnest desire that Mr. Canning should be in the Cabinet. The earl of Moira was next desired to form an administration; after this, the earl of Liverpool was re-appointed first lord of the treasury.

In the earl of Moira's letter to lord Grey, he said,—"Mr. Canning's name was mentioned, because lord Wellesley would have declined office without him." Sufficient proof of the estimation in which our hero's talents were held by the noble marquis.

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* A motion in favour of the Roman Catholics.

On the 20th of June, Mr. Canning rose, upon the motion to which we have before alluded, and said,—"When the extent and magnitude of the subject which I am about to press upon the consideration of the House, and the debates which have taken place upon it, are considered; and also the anxiety which pervades every part of the empire, it may be apprehended that I shall be under the necessity of detaining the House a long time.

"If I came forward as a partisan, that might be the case, but not doing so, the subject lies in a narrow question; and till that question is set at rest, the empire never will be quiet. I trust, however, without adverting to former debates or inflammatory circumstances, to be able to induce the House to look at it as a great state question, surrounded with danger, indeed, but as one which, if it is wished to give peace to the empire, must be entertained; and if I can persuade gentlemen to lay aside all recollection of former debates, I flatter myself I shall be able to persuade them to agree to the proposition I am about to submit.

"One general rule is, that all citizens of the same state are entitled to the same privileges; and, if exceptions exist, the *onus probandi* lies on those who impose them, to show their necessity. I am also persuaded, at this time, when we are opposed to an enemy so active and so powerful, no man would controvert the benefit which must result from a measure, which would tend to cement in affection every man in the empire against our inveterate and powerful foe. And the third general principle is, that where there exists in any state a great question, which has agitated the empire for a length of time, without any appearance of adjustment between the people of opposite opinions, it becomes the duty of the supreme power—wherever that supreme power may lie, to inter-

fere and set the question at rest. I am aware there may be two objections: the first, the fear of innovation and change; and the other, the danger of concession.

"The assertion of fear of innovation carries with it an idea of a system of perfection already adopted. But I should be glad to know at what period of our history this divine system of things existed. Did it exist at the time when Christianity first spread its light over the country? Did it exist at the time of the Reformation?—Will gentlemen come down lower, to the reign of Elizabeth, (glorious, indeed, in some part of it, but, in the latter part, falling short of those who came before her?) Will they look to the reign of Charles the First?—What had Ireland then to boast of?—Or will they look to the Protectorate, and say, that was the time of perfection?—Then came the Revolution.—Can you, gentlemen, say, then came perfection?—No; then came confiscation: and from thence, through the reign of Anne, and down to the present time, has existed a system of artificial depression. And can gentlemen, looking to these circumstances, say this is the place at which we should make our stand—this is a system on which we should make no innovation?—To this system—the present penal code—alone it belongs, that no sooner had it arrived at perfection, than it began to decline.

"The penal code was established at the commencement of the present reign, and in fifteen years (namely, in 1774), began the innovations made upon it. Before the relaxation of the code, Mr. Justice Blackstone made the following declaration on the laws it contained—'In it,' he says, 'these laws, though not professedly sanguinary, are so severe, that they do all the mischiefs which it is possible to do in cold blood; but, perhaps,' he continues, 'when the time shall arrive that all fear of the Pretender shall be done away—when the influence and power of

the Pope shall be reduced—it would not be amiss to revise and soften down these penal laws against the Catholics.' Such a state of things having now arrived, it would be curious to trace the Acts of relaxation which have taken place:—the first relaxation was the Act of 1774; and, in 1778, a second relaxation Act passed, in the preamble to which it stated—'That it could not but tend to the strength of the empire, that all persuasions of his Majesty's subjects should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution.' And, six years after (in 1784), a further relaxation was made in their favour. The last Act was that of 1793, and, in the conclusion of the preamble of that Act, it was said—'that, in consequence of the peaceable and loyal conduct of the Catholics, it was thought right that they should be relieved from their disabilities.' Thus this penal code, which had been two centuries coming to perfection, having obtained that perfection in 1760, and continued in it for sixteen years, then began to decline, and has continued to decline now half a century. Two or three experiments have been made, and the question now is, whether we should give full effect to those experiments.

"We read, in the Roman history, that the Samnites having, on one occasion, obtained an advantage over a Roman army, and wishing to make the greatest advantage possible of the circumstance, the general sent a message to an ancient senator, requesting to know how he should treat the prisoners; the answer was, 'Send them home unransomed and unarmed.' The general, surprised at this answer, sent for further advice, and was told, 'Exterminate every man of them.' The different advice conveyed in the two answers, made the Samnite general think his adviser deranged—he sent for him to the camp, and requested a further explanation of

the difficulty. He was told then, that if he let them go free, he would lay a powerful state under the obligations of eternal gratitude; on the other hand, if he exterminated them, he would in so far prevent them from annoying him in future. Neither of these modes did he take, but he caused them ignominiously to pass under the yoke.

"Gentlemen, apply this, in taking your view of the state of Catholic Ireland. All further concession is objected to by some, because the principles of the Catholic religion are such as would be likely to make us rue, one day, what we had done; but history does not bear this out. The religion is represented as an encroaching one, and yet we have seen it losing great part of Europe, without recovering any portion of its former hold upon it. On this subject, I may mention the oath taken by the Protestant sovereigns of Scotland, which was taken by king William and queen Anne, and contained a clause, in which they swore to root out all the heretics convicted of doctrines contrary to the true kirk; but, it was observed, that king William took it in his own sense of it, which meant no such thing. We must not deny the same liberty to other churches of expounding their own meaning. It would be as hard on the Catholics, as it would on king William. In the whole series of the statutes on the subject, there was no reliance to be placed on these people but by their oaths; and the last oath that bound them, was drawn up by a learned doctor (Duigenan), who maintained they were not to be trusted, and yet, by his conduct, contradicted his assertions. We must rest for security upon their conscientious and faithful adherence to the obligations, the good faith of which some are not disposed to deny.

"It has been said, we ought to be quiet, and satisfied

by looking abroad at the condition of the people in other states. I object to this:—we ought not to look abroad, but look at home; here we can compare ourselves with our fellow subjects. We may have our speculations abroad, but our feelings at home.

"If we look abroad, we see a powerful enemy collecting people of all nations and tongues under his hostile banners against us, without distinction of religion. If towards another potentate, the emperor of Russia, (at present, perhaps, to be numbered amongst our enemies,) we see him with a schismatic chancellor, a Catholic secretary, and a Protestant general.

"Gentlemen, ask yourselves, why your religion is to present an insuperable bar to your advancement? If you look to Austria, you may remember that Buonaparte, relying on false information respecting the Hungarians, issued a proclamation to grant them the free exercise of their religion, when he invaded the emperor's dominions; but he had no temptation to offer to the Hungarians, for the privileges and honours of the state were open to all. Then, why should the Catholics be told to look abroad, to find sources of consolation at home? They might look to Spain; and I am sorry to say, that from recent publications there, I have seen something which I cannot justify. I have seen a proclamation which was the reverse of toleration, and which disgraced the Cortes as much as it excited surprise. They knew how freely their conduct had been commented upon here, to induce them to liberalise their system: but what that infant state would not do, we, in our enlarged condition, also refused to do. Might not Spain turn around and say to us, 'Why do you hold populous, mature, adult Ireland, in the exclusion and fetters in which she was bound so many years?' Some persons

picture out the cruelties of the Roman Catholics, in the first periods of the Reformation;—but what should we say of being reminded of all the violence of the Reformers—of the Anabaptists in Munster—of the severities in the days of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth—of the deliberate burning of Servetus—of the oath in Scotland—and of the furious proceedings of John Knox? It is the duty of a wise legislature to prevent all such calamities by the earliest means. I have been shocked in walking through the streets of the metropolis, to see a placard exhibited to the gaze of the vulgar, called 'The Awful Warning of St. Bartholomew's.' Who the author was, I know not, and God forbid I should have any acquaintance with him; for what but the most mischievous effects can it be calculated to produce? Why should such a history as this be now published? What have the people now to do with the conduct of Charles the Eleventh of France, or with the Guises sprinkling themselves with the blood of an unfortunate victim, and the duke of Angouleme surveying his murdered body with emotions of delight? This publication contained not only a history of the massacre, but was accompanied by plates to heighten the exhibition. There was also a name on the front of it, which I lamented to see. It was described as sacred to the memory of Mr. Percival, whose relative situation to this country was represented as similar to that of De Coligny, in France. Speaking of Mr. Percival, likening him to De Coligny, it said, that he fell like him, in the service of his king, his country, and his God! If, with a deep sense of a dispensation so awful and afflicting as that which has recently occurred in the murder of Mr. Percival, I might think that Providence had given me any consolation, it was in sparing us from the mischiefs that might have been occasioned, had the foul assassin

been either an Irishman or a Catholic! In the earliest period of the French revolution, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was exhibited on the stage, as a public spectacle for the people—and why was it so exhibited? For the purpose of extinguishing animosities? No; but with a view to kindle animosities, and inflame those which already existed; not to put down the spirit of religious hatred, discord, and persecution, but to provoke new massacres. The cardinal Loraine was introduced on the stage, giving orders for the massacre; and Mr. Burke, adverting to this spectacle, in his letter to a member of the National Assembly, said, that their citizens had assented to the massacre of the followers of Calvin, at St. Bartholomew; and then asked, what he thought of their attempt to retaliate that massacre upon the people of this day? When I quote Mr. Burke, I cannot but recollect what a great authority he is for the cause which I am now advocating. I cannot but recollect the sentiments of that great man upon this subject, outrunning upon this, as well as other occasions, with a prophetic foresight, the march of public opinion. I cannot forget that Mr. Fox advocated the same cause—and, in addition to these two great men, who might, perhaps, by some, be considered as too sanguine and too eager to carry their views into execution, before the public could be well prepared for them,—I have to mention the name of Mr. Wyndham, whose mind was cast in a different mould; and who was always averse to innovations and the removal of existing restraints, until he had rigidly examined the ground, and weighed the consequences of the proposed alteration. I have to number Mr. Pitt, also, as the advocate of this cause—whose ardent zeal for public liberty was tempered by his views of practical utility. If the question, then, were to be determined on autho-

rity merely, I cannot but think that my cause is gained."

After some further observations, Mr. Canning concluded with moving—"'That the House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects.'—I beg leave to say, that the Catholics of England are included in this general designation; and, although their uniform and undeviating loyalty, and exemplary good conduct, might entitle them to a distinct and even a partial consideration, yet, as they have themselves declined this distinction, I have united them in the same measure."

Mr. Canning's motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine.

For some months a negociation continued between ministers and Mr. Canning, so anxious were they to avail themselves of his assistance; a reconciliation between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh was effected, but negociations went off on the old ground of the Catholic question.

At the general election, Mr. Canning assumed an important parliamentary character, and tried his strength against Messrs. Brougham and Creevey.

A meeting, held at the Golden Lion Inn, Liverpool, on the 25th of September, 1812, sent the following invitation to our hero:—

" Liverpool, October 1, 1812.

" Entertaining, as we do, the highest respect for and the fullest confidence in your talents, integrity, and public conduct, we feel a strong and anxious desire that this loyal and ancient borough should possess the high advantage of being represented by you in Parliament; and we, therefore, do most earnestly invite you to offer yourself as a candidate at the ensuing election.

" Should you favour us by your compliance, we beg to assure you of our utmost zeal and exertions in your behalf; and, from the knowledge we possess of the very favourable sentiments generally entertained of you, by the freemen and other inhabitants of this large and populous borough, we cannot permit ourselves for a moment to doubt your being returned to Parliament by a large majority, notwithstanding any opposition that is or may be contemplated by others on the occasion.

" With the greatest respect,

" We have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your faithful and obedient servants,

" **** ****."

To this Mr. Canning replied:—

" Mamhead House, near Exeter,

" Sunday, Oct. 4, 1812.

" GENTLEMEN,

" In returning from a more distant part of the country, upon intelligence of the dissolution of Parliament, I am met here, this day, by your flattering invitation to Liverpool.

" I have not words to express my sense of the honour thus tendered to me. It is one which, unconnected as I am with the town of Liverpool, I certainly should never have presumed to think of soliciting; nor can I forbear, even now, entreating you to reflect, whether any advantage or satisfaction which you can hope to derive from choosing me one of your representatives, can compensate the trouble which (I am led to apprehend) you may have to encounter in accomplishing that object.

" Having said this, if it be, nevertheless, your pleasure to call me to that distinguished situation, my services are at your command. I put myself into your hands; relying confidently upon the exertions which you will employ to give effect to your own wishes, and to vindicate your choice by making it triumphantly successful

"Had I presumed, uninvited, to solicit your suffrages, it would have been incumbent upon me to address to you some profession of my public principles, and some exposition of my public conduct.

"As it is, you allow me to flatter myself that to your indulgent and favourable construction of those principles and that conduct (by which alone I am known to you) I am indebted for the invitation which I have this day received from you.

"I am not likely to swerve from principles which have procured to me so signal and gratifying a distinction.

"My conduct in Parliament will always be governed by the best judgment which I am able to form of what is conducive to the welfare or essential to the honour of the country.

"I have only to add, that gratitude, as well as duty, will ensure my unwearied attention to every thing that may affect the peculiar interests of the town of Liverpool, or which can contribute to its prosperity.

"I have the honour to be,

"With the highest respect and acknowledgment,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obli ed and faithful servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

Mr. Canning arrived in Liverpool late in the evening of the 7th of October, 1812, and published the following letter to the freemen:—

"*To the Freemen of Liverpool.*

"Liverpool, Wednesday night, Oct. 7, 1812.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I had no sooner returned my acknowledgment of the very flattering invitation sent to me from Liverpool, than I felt it my duty to hasten hither for the purpose of paying my personal respects to the gentlemen by whom that invitation was signed and to you.

"I regret that distance and accidents have delayed my arrival here to so late an hour; most especially when I learn with what extraordinary and cordial demonstrations of kindness you were prepared to receive me this morning.

"Finding, upon my arrival, the same unmerited partiality prevailing in my favour, which had dictated the requisition to me to offer myself as a candidate to represent this ancient and loyal town,

I can no longer hesitate, in compliance with that requisition, to offer to the freemen at large my humble but zealous services; and to express to them the pride and satisfaction which I should feel in being honoured, by their suffrages, with the high trust to which I have been encouraged to aspire.

"I have no claims, gentlemen, upon your confidence from private connexion or acquaintance. And, I confess, I am not fond of extravagant professions; because, I think, it often happens, that when too much is professed at first, something is to be afterwards qualified, or explained, or retracted.

"But my public life is before you: from that your judgment of me will naturally be formed. And I can confidently assure you, that, if you should think fit to honour me with your choice, you shall find me (according to the best of my ability) careful in watching over your peculiar concerns, and steadfast in maintaining those principles by which the prosperity of such a town as Liverpool is most surely to be upholden, connected as that prosperity must necessarily and inseparably be with the welfare and the honour of Great Britain.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and devoted servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

Before Mr. Canning's answer was received, a very active canvass had been instituted by the friends of Messrs. Brougham and Creevey; and it was pretended, that they had met with an encouragement decisive of success. On Monday the 5th, Mr. Brougham made his public entry.

On Thursday morning, Mr. Canning was escorted to the hustings by a very numerous and respectable assemblage of friends, amidst demonstrations of the most ardent enthusiasm. The unusual number of five candidates were then put in nomination; and the result of the first day's pole gave, as to Mr. Canning, a pleasing earnest of ultimate success. The numbers on each day's poll, from

the commencement to the close, are exhibited in the following view:—

	1st Day.	2d Day.	3d Day.	4th Day.	5th Day.	6th Day.	7th Day.	8th Day.
CANNING - - -	139	318	520	722	926	1076	1361	1631
GASCOYNE - - -	117	288	483	673	864	1003	1276	1532
BROUGHAM - -	137	284	488	691	892	1030	1105	1131
CREEVEY - - -	135	277	473	666	866	991	1055	1068
TARLETON - - -	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	11

Number of Freemen polled, 2726.

The greatest number of freemen that ever polled in this borough on any former occasion was 2415; so that the above number exceeds that of any former election by 311.

The contest was sharp and indecisive, except as to Mr. Canning, until the sixth day of the poll; and, to those who judged only from appearances, the result was considered doubtful. Persons of better information as to the state of opinion felt no fear; and they already anticipated the defeat of a party, whose principles were even more objectionable than the arrogant air which marked all their proceedings. On the seventh day the disparity became strongly marked; and on Friday morning, October 16, being the eighth day of the contest, Messrs. Brougham and Creevey, despairing of success, very handsomely took leave of the returning officers at the hustings, and parted from the two successful candidates with expressions of politeness and personal regard, which were warmly returned by Mr. Canning and General Gascoyne. The poll was, however, kept open for the friends of the remaining candidates, till five o'clock in

the evening, and the contest closed, leaving a large majority in favour of the successful candidates, and crowning a zealous struggle, begun late, and under many disadvantages, with a victory which, had it been merely personal, would have lost its interest, but which will long be exultingly remembered as a triumph of constitutional and British principles."

Some of Mr. Canning's speeches at this election were quizzed unmercifully by his adversaries; but speeches delivered under the excitement of an election, are not fair subjects for criticism. The following extract from his speech on the 3d day, was the cause of much merriment.

"Gentlemen, do not suppose that I doubt your goodwill; I have received already too many and too striking proofs of it. To-morrow is a day of cessation from the contest. I do not regret this, as you may very well conceive, so far as it affects myself, who really stand in need of some repose. Neither do I in another point of view regret it as at all unfriendly to my interest; for to-morrow will be spent by you, gentlemen, in the bosom of your families, and I know that I have in the house of every man of you the zeal and good wishes of a wife or daughter: incentives which, if it were necessary, would rouse you to fresh and successful exertions in my behalf.

"Gentlemen, I bid you good night, entreating you now to disperse in quiet and good order, and hoping to meet you here again on Monday, at a somewhat more seasonable hour, when I may be able to look you, as well as you me, in the face."

The following day he spoke at greater length; and the following observations are worthy of record.

"Of Liverpool, gentlemen, I knew nothing a week ago but by report: as a great and opulent town, deeply

interested in the prosperity of the kingdom, and contributing largely to that prosperity by its own industry and enterprise. It is only since I came amongst you that I have had the opportunity of being convinced how worthy you are of the rank which you hold amongst the cities and towns of this great and flourishing land.

"I have found, gentlemen, generally prevailing among you, not, as by misrepresentation I had been taught to believe, a querulous impatience under the privations common to us all, and unhappily incident to a state of war, such as that in which it is our misfortune to be engaged; not a disposition to separate the local and peculiar interests of Liverpool from those of the country at large, and to purchase a respite to yourselves, at the expense of national interest and honour. No, gentlemen; I have found here a lofty and determined spirit, patient under difficulties known to be unavoidable, and never looking to partial relief or benefit but as connected with the general good. Instead of unreasoning clamours for a peace to be attained by sacrifice and submission, I have found among you a disposition to sustain your share of the evils of war, until it can be put an end to with safety, because without disgrace.

"The habits of a commercial people are sober, cautious, and calculating, not prone to exaggeration and enthusiasm; and, as all human qualities have their accompanying and qualifying defects, it has been sometimes thought, that the judgment of those engaged in the pursuits of commerce is apt to be warped by interest, and the quick sensibility of honour blunted in them by the avidity for gain. My short experience of Liverpool has shown me, in contradiction to that general character, that one of the most opulent, the most skilful, and the most adventurous communities that ever grew

great by trade, is also the most alive to every sentiment by which wealth can be ennobled; and that, in the soberest calculation of your own interests, you consider them as inseparable from the national honour.

"Gentlemen, these are sentiments which, if I am to represent you in Parliament, it will be henceforth my duty to uphold and proclaim, not as my sentiments only, but as yours; and, if there be a situation of enviable distinction and pardonable pride, to which a public man can aspire in this happy and free country, it is the being placed, by the spontaneous, unbiassed, and, I may add, unsolicited suffrages of a great and respectable portion of his countrymen, in the great council of the nation, there to speak his own long-cherished opinions, with the assurance that they are all in unison with those of the constituents whom he is chosen to represent."

His speech, as it regards his own public conduct, on the fifth day, was even more interesting.

"But, gentlemen, while, on this question of Parliamentary Reform, I am accused of being too tardy in hazarding innovations, I have found, in other societies, that I am supposed to meditate innovations which are still more formidable, both in Church and State; that I have been represented (not by my competitors, surely!) as not attached to the religion of my country; as prepared to subvert the Establishment, and to substitute Popery in its room. Gentlemen, such accusations are so extravagant, that on almost any other subject, and at any other period, they would be absolutely ludicrous, and to be met only with silent scorn. But, gentlemen, my views of what is commonly called the Catholic Question (for it is to that question, as you may suppose, that I allude) have been so distinctly expressed on so many recent occasions in the last session of Parliament, that I

should have thought they could not have been misunderstood. I have always treated that question, not in a religious, but a political point of view. I have considered it as a question of political expediency; and, in every thing that I have agreed to, and every thing that I have proposed respecting it, I have always, with scrupulous care and anxiety, proposed to guard and fence, from even the most remote apprehensions of danger, that happy constitution, in Church and State, under which we have the good fortune to flourish; and one of the great blessings of which is, in my opinion, that, being itself secure and firmly seated in the habits and affections of the people, it enables us to be liberal, without danger, to all who are within the reach of its influence, and to dispense its blessings to others without hazarding them ourselves.

"Gentlemen, in this view, and with such qualifications, it is that, considering the concessions already made to the Catholics (wisely or not, it is too late to inquire,) in the course of the present reign, as having placed that numerous class of his Majesty's subjects, particularly in Ireland, in a state very different from that in which they stood when the code enacted against them was in full operation; as having advanced them in wealth, power, and intelligence; as having taught them to look upon themselves as admissible to the civil franchises of the state, in which they have been permitted to acquire property, and encouraged to pursue industrious and useful occupations; it is, I say, in this view, and with the qualifications which I have described, that I entertain and have acted upon the opinion, which I honestly avow, that the period of religious danger being, as I think it is, past by, the state of this country, the state of Europe and of the world point out the political expediency of re-

pealing those civil disabilities which are the remnant of a code whose principle has been already repealed. I certainly think that this may be done without danger. I think that the circumstances of the times recommend it.

"But, though these are my opinions upon that question, I know well that many respectable, pious, and worthy persons differ from me. And there is no opinion which I hold more strongly than this:—that, to be settled happily, this great question must be *settled peaceably*, and with the full concurrence and good-will of all classes of the Protestant community. I am sanguine enough to believe, that, upon full, deliberate, and temperate discussion, such a concurrence may be obtained. I am sanguine enough to think, that I see my way to such arrangements as might allay the discontent of one party, and quiet the scruples of the other. To give to one party a triumph over the other, has never entered into my contemplation.

"This is not the place, nor the time, to enter into the very delicate and difficult discussion of the arrangements which might be necessary for a final and amicable adjustment. But, when I have said that I think it desirable, and that I think it possible, to effect such an arrangement; of that desirableness, and even of that possibility, the mature conviction and assent of the Protestant community form, in my view, one essential part.

"Gentlemen, these opinions are not new opinions of mine, though I hear, also, that I am accused of having recently adopted them. Gentlemen, that accusation is false. These opinions I imbibed, inherited from Mr. Pitt. Had he lived, I have no doubt he would now have been acting upon them. I say *now*, because from Mr. Pitt I also inherited the determination never myself

to stir, and to resist any attempt on the part of others to stir the Catholic Question, during the lifetime—the living reign—of our beloved and venerated sovereign. While he lived to the cares and duties of his station, I did resist all attempts to force that question into discussion, quite as earnestly as if I had myself thought differently upon it.

"After a reign of fifty years, and such a reign, so fraught with advantages and blessings to this nation, we owed, and none owed more deeply than the Catholics themselves, the utmost deference to the feelings, to the scruples of a sovereign—the father of all his people. If the Catholics looked to recover their franchises at a future time, it behoved them to look forward not as a prodigal and unnatural heir to the decease of the relation whose estate he is to inherit, but with that trembling anxiety, that pious apprehension with which a dutiful and affectionate son hangs over the sick couch of a beloved parent, deprecating the inheritance which that parent's death is to transfer to him, and praying for the protraction even of his decay.

"In this spirit, and with these feelings, I certainly had resisted, hitherto, even the discussion of the question, which this year I have seen no obstacle to discussing fully, deliberately, and with a view to the settlement of it for ever.

"Gentlemen, I am, therefore, falsely accused either of aiming at changes in the constitution, or of having changed my own opinions upon this important subject. I am persuaded—it is my deliberate, and settled, and uninfluenced judgment and conviction, that this question *may* be so settled as not to hazard, but to confirm and strengthen the constitution, both in Church and State. It is in that view that I entertained and have supported

it. And, gentlemen, if the testimony of those with whom and among whom I have acted for now near twenty years; if the testimony of the House of Commons can be any guarantee to you for the soundness of my opinions, and the rectitude of my intentions, on this momentous question, I beg leave to remind you of a fact, which I state not boastingly, but simply as a fact, which, questioned as I have been, I ought not to suffer to be forgotten, that, while every motion brought forward by the Opposition, on the Catholic subject, has been uniformly rejected by large majorities, that which I had the honour to propose, a few months ago, was carried by no less a majority than 129."

The 17th of October saw our hero victorious. His speech on this occasion is a masterpiece; it is just what the place and circumstances required, and no more. The mention of Pitt is the candid avowal of a noble mind, that did not shrink from admitting the source from whence it derived its power. We insert it verbatim.

"Gentlemen,—I congratulate you on your final success; for it is your victory, and not mine. The contest has been a contest of principles, not of persons; although I should belie my own feelings if I were not to confess, that, to the latest hour of my life, I shall be proud that the battle has been fought in my person, and that my name has been associated with your exertions, and illustrated by your triumph. You, gentlemen, have done me the honour to select me, not, undoubtedly, for any individual merit of my own, (I know that I can pretend to none,) but in order that, by returning me to represent your opinions in Parliament, you might vindicate the freedom of your choice, the loyalty of your principles, and the consistency of your character.

"Gentlemen, I wish that those theorists of reform,

who think nothing right in the practice of our constitution, could witness this scene which I have now the delight to survey: those who presume that every popular feeling must belong to themselves alone; who imagine that a zealous and ardent exercise of popular rights, and an enthusiastic expression of popular sentiments, are incompatible with an equally enthusiastic attachment to all the monarchical principles of the constitution. When will such men learn, that what they call exclusively popular principles are not the principles of the people? Can they look this day at the peaceful triumph of Liverpool, as they have looked for the last three years at the glorious and bloody struggles of Spain, and yet doubt the possibility of a combination of all that is national in feeling, with all that is loyal in principle; of a spirit of democracy sufficient to give energy to a state, with a devotedness to monarchy sufficient to secure its conservation?

"Gentlemen, some persons have endeavoured to persuade you, that in giving your suffrages to a man who has been the uniform supporter of a war, glorious in itself, but only glorious inasmuch as it is necessary and unavoidable, you are deferring the day of peace. Fortunately, for the clear understanding of such reasonings, they have sometimes been coupled with prophecy. Let us compare, where we have an opportunity, what has happened with what was foretold; and then judge what weight is to be assigned to the same reasonings in future.

"The honourable gentleman* who left your hustings yesterday, (of whom, as an individual, I have spoken, and mean to speak, with the utmost respect,) on or about the 16th of last June, proposed, in the House of Com-

* Mr. Brougham.

mons, a specific concession to America; and pledged himself, that if that concession were made, peace would be preserved or restored. By a singular coincidence, on or about the same day on which that motion was made, the declaration of war by America against Great Britain passed the Senate of the United States. O! but the concession was to heal all! The ministers, whether swayed by the honourable gentleman's eloquence, or participating in his expectations, I know not, gave way; and the concession was made. Confident from this triumph, as might naturally be expected, the honourable gentleman, the prophet of American reconciliation, presents himself (I ought rather to say, is presented by some among you) to be chosen as your representative in Parliament. Yesterday he left your town, disappointed of this honourable object: and, by another singular coincidence, the defeat of the prophecy upon which his expectations were founded is made known here on the very day of the defeat of those expectations. For, yesterday, the declaration, the tardy declaration of war by this country against America, arrives here; and tells us, in terms too plain to be misunderstood, that to seek peace through humiliation is a course neither of honour nor of advantage.

"It has been further attempted to deter you from the choice which you have done me the honour to make, by saying that I had been in office, and am likely to be in office again. I have been in office. How soon, if ever, I may be in office again, I neither know, nor do I very much care, for any other reason than as it might afford me greater opportunities of promoting the interests of the country, of which your interests constitute so essential a part.

"But, gentlemen, what is meant by this imputation?

Are they who urge it so little read in the principles, the democratical principles, of the British constitution, as not to know that it is one of the peculiar boasts of this country, one of the prime fruits of its free constitution, and one main security for its continuing free, that men as humble as myself, with no pretensions of wealth, or title, or high family, or wide-spreading connexions, may yet find their way into the Cabinet of their sovereign, through the fair road of public service, and stand there upon a footing of equality with the proudest aristocracy of the land?

"Is it from courtiers of the people, from admirers of republican virtue and republican energy, that we hear doctrines which would tend to exclude from the management of public affairs all who are not illustrious by birth, or powerful from hereditary opulence? Why, gentlemen, in this limited monarchy, there are undoubtedly contests for office, contests which agitate the elements of the constitution, and which keep them alive and active, without endangering the constitution itself. A republic is nothing but one continual struggle for office in every department of the state.

"Mad, indeed, and desperate would be the reform which should exclude from the House of Commons, as some ignorant theorists advise, every man who has possessed, or who possesses office: separating thereby the service of the crown from that of the people; as if they were not identified in interest, and mutually dependant on each other.

"Gentlemen, if I have held office, I hope I have held it honourably: I will never hold it again, but on the same terms. It is not my fault that I must state facts, in my own defence, which might appear to be stated ostentatiously; but I mean them simply as defensive. It is en-

tirely my own fault, gentlemen, that I am not now addressing you with the seals of secretary of state in my pocket. Twice, in the course of the last six months, have the seals of the office of secretary of state been tendered to my acceptance; and twice have I declined them. Is this like hankering after office? I declined them, not because I was unwilling to render any services of which my poor abilities were capable to my country; not because I did not acknowledge, with all due gratitude and humility, the gracious disposition of my prince; not because I shrink from the difficulties of the times, to the encountering and overcoming of which I should feel myself, from the public situation in which I have had the honour to stand, bound to render whatever aid was in my power, if I could do so with effect, by doing so with credit. I declined office, gentlemen, because it was tendered to me on terms not consistent, as I thought, and as my immediate friends agreed in thinking, with my personal honour; because, if accepted on such terms, it would not have enabled me to serve the public with efficiency.

"Gentlemen, I presume not to trouble you with any details upon this subject; but what I have stated, and what is before the world, is, I hope, sufficient to justify me against the accusation of hankering after office. Whether you will ever see me in office again, I cannot tell; but of this I can assure you, that it shall not be in a way dishonourable to myself or to you. I dare not, indeed, reckon upon the continuance of such unmerited partiality and affection as you now so kindly heap upon me; but this I can answer for, that neither in nor out of office shall you have cause to be ashamed of me.

"Gentlemen, I stated to you, two nights ago, my opinion of the conduct of my adversary, Mr. Brougham, in

determining, at that time, not to decline the contest. I told you, that I thought he could not do otherwise than act upon the opinions and persuasions of his friends; and that he had explained his motives with the utmost candour and fairness. I think so still. I myself know nothing to the contrary. But I have certainly heard, that speeches delivered in another place were very different, indeed, from those which were delivered at the hustings. And, while I beg not to be understood as intending to give any colour of my own to expressions which I did not hear, and cannot vouch for, there is one topic, which is represented as having made considerable impression, which I owe it to the government of the country (however myself unconnected with it) not to suffer to pass unnoticed. The declaration of war against America has, as I am informed, been stated to have been delayed by the government of this country for the sake of sweeping into the royal chest a large sum of the droits of Admiralty, to be disposed of at the pleasure of ministers, for purposes of prodigality and corruption. Gentlemen, I would fain believe that this assertion cannot have been made. An account of the distribution of the droits of Admiralty has, as is well known, been submitted to the House of Commons the last two years; and, surely, to attribute a measure of peace or war to a desire on the part of government to disappoint our own captors, for the sake of getting possession of a sum, of which the disposal is, after all, to be made public, is to attribute motives not only altogether unworthy, but utterly inadequate and absurd.

"I say this the rather, because I must fairly own, that, differing as I do entirely as to the causes to which the delay is to be attributed, I am inclined to agree that the declaration of war against America has been delayed too

long. When all hopes of preserving peace were vanished, nothing remained, in my opinion, for this government but prompt and vigorous war. It was the only course becoming this great country. It would have afforded the best chance of bringing the American government to their senses.

"The opinions which I now express are in unison with those which I took the liberty of expressing, in my place in Parliament, when that concession was agreed to by the ministers, at Mr. Brougham's suggestion, upon the strength of which Mr. Brougham has been presented to your choice. I then ventured to state my doubts, whether that concession would propitiate America; whether it would not rather tend to confirm the hostile policy of that government, and to enhance its pretensions. In fact, how is it that our concession has been met? By reciprocal concession, by abated pride, assuaged malice, and returning good-will? No such thing. They have risen in their terms, as unreasonable concession will always induce and encourage an unreasonable enemy to do.

"Gentlemen, you see that I speak to you as freely of the conduct and policy of our government, as of the conduct of those to whom I am politically opposed. To one man, while he lived, I was devoted, with all my heart and with all my soul. Since the death of Mr. Pitt, I acknowledge no leader. My political allegiance lies buried in his grave. But I have, though not his immediate counsels to follow, his memory to cherish and revere. So far as I knew his opinions on subjects which were in his time, as well as now, of great public interest, I have adhered, and shall adhere to those opinions as the guides of my public conduct. Where I can only reason from analogy on new questions which may arise, I shall endeavour to apply to those questions, whatever they may be,

the principles which I imbibed and inherit from him; principles which, I well know, have alone recommended me to your choice this day.

"Of the cause of good government, in whatever hands the administration of government may be placed, even if in the hands of those to whom I have been politically opposed, I shall always be a faithful and steady supporter. But I do not pledge myself to you, I will never pledge myself to any man, to be the blind and subservient supporter of the administration in any hands whatever. My general disposition is to support the government. What I find amiss, however, I shall blame with freedom; though I will not do so with any intention to excite discontent, nor at the hazard of mischief to the country.

"Gentlemen, if I did not retain the independence of my own judgment in the House of Commons, I should be but an unworthy representative of the independent and enlightened community which sends me thither. It may happen, that your judgment may occasionally come in conflict with my own. Men of independent minds may honestly differ on subjects which admit of a variety of views. In all such cases, I promise you, not indeed wholly to submit my judgment to yours; you would despise me if I made so extravagant a profession: but I promise you that any difference of opinion between us will always lead me to distrust my own views, carefully to examine, and, if erroneous, frankly to correct them. Gentlemen, our judgments may clash, but our interests never: no interests of mine shall ever come in competition with yours. I promise you further, that, hoping, as I earnestly do, that the connexion, of which the foundation is this day auspiciously laid, may last to the end of my political life—yet if, unfortunately, occasions should occur, (I cannot foresee or imagine any such,) on which

there should arise between us, on points of serious importance, a radical and irreconcilable difference of opinion, I will not abuse my trust, but will give you the earliest opportunity of recalling or reconsidering your delegation of it.

"Gentlemen, with the most heartfelt acknowledgment; with feelings of gratitude which words are too weak to convey, and of pride which I dare not trust myself with expressing; with a sense of the honour which you have conferred upon me, less gratifying than any sense of the kindness with which you have overwhelmed me; with sentiments such as till this day I never knew, but which I shall recollect with delight until the latest hour of my life, I take my leave of you for the present; praying that Providence may so direct my conduct as never to give you cause, in your better judgment, to look back with regret upon the choice which you have made."

His observations on peace, in his speech at the dinner given on the 26th, are excellent.

"Commerce and peace," said Mr. Canning, "are, in the ordinary course of things, linked together. And it has been endeavoured to be insinuated by our opponents, that they alone could be the faithful guardians of the interests of a great commercial town, who are, as they are pleased to call themselves, lovers of peace. Such interests, they insist, must perish in the hands of those who (like myself, I suppose) are friends and advocates of war. Lovers of peace! Who are *not* lovers of peace in the abstract? Friends and advocates of war! Who are so mad or so malignant as to prefer war for war's sake? Who are advocates of war, as war, any more than of famine or of pestilence? They who indulge themselves in such loose and general propositions, must surely be conscious that they are deceiving the audience whom they address.

They must know, that the questions of peace and war are amongst the most difficult and complicated questions that human imagination can conceive, or that human genius can be called upon to disentangle. The propositions which they so glibly announce as simple propositions of elementary truth, are (as they know full well) interwoven with considerations and circumstances which render the discussion of them perplexed and intricate in the extreme. The question of peace is beset with difficulties which they themselves, if the helm of the state were put into their hands, would find, at the present moment, wholly insurmountable. But these difficulties they carefully keep out of sight, when they wish to make an impression on popular feelings.

"In what a state of the world is it that these gentlemen talk of peace, and of themselves as the lovers of peace, just as calmly as if it were only a mere question of taste and fancy; as if to choose were to have, and to have were securely to enjoy! What, gentlemen, should you think of the sense or the fairness of men who, in the midst of the distress and desolation occasioned in one of your West India islands by a hurricane or tornado, while the air was involved in a pitchy darkness, and the city rocking with volcanic explosions, were to run about the streets, proclaiming themselves 'the friends of light and of perpendicular position?' Who does not love light better than darkness? Who would not rather have the walls of his house standing erect, than tumbling about his ears? But what, I say, should you think of men—of their candour, or of their sense—who, in the midst of such a public calamity, instead of lending a helping hand to their fellow-sufferers, and bearing patiently their own share of afflictions not to be avoided, should labour to impress upon the minds of the people additional motives of consternation and despair, and to make their sufferings

intolerable, by insinuating that they had been unnecessarily incurred?

"Gentlemen, the order of things in the moral and political world is not less convulsed, at the present moment, than in the physical world by such visitations of Providence as those which I have just described. The storm is abroad. For purposes inscrutable to us, it has pleased Providence to let loose upon mankind a scourge of nations, who carries death and devastation into the remotest corners of the earth. But, amidst this universal havoc, this general prostration of the nations of Europe, this rocking of the battlements of our own separate fortress, we are asked, with an air of simplicity which would be quite touching, if we could imagine it to proceed from mere defect of understanding, 'Why are we not at peace?'

"A grosser delusion than is attempted by insinuating that war is our choice, and peace within our reach, but wilfully rejected, was never yet imposed upon mankind. The question is not whether we love peace, but whether we can obtain it: the only arguable difference between men of honest minds and sober understandings must be as to the terms on which peace ought to be made; and the main characteristic of those terms all rational men would agree to be this—that they should be such as to afford a fair and reasonable security for its continuance. But this can be effected by honourable terms alone, and for this one plain reason, that a peace purchased by ignominy would be but a short intermission of war.

"But, absurd and unfair as this unreasoning cry of peace is, in relation to general politics, with what aggravated absurdity is it addressed to you, gentlemen, on the peculiar ground of your commercial interests! As if peace and commerce, connected though I have stated

them to be, in the ordinary course of things and in the common train of consequences, were not expressly dissociated in the whole system of the policy of our enemy! Peace! with whom? With a man who has shown himself the fosterer of commerce; with one who holds it high among the cares and blessings of a good government; who delights in strengthening those bonds by which commercial intercourse unites the different societies of mankind? No: with one to whom commerce is avowedly an object of hatred and of jealousy: of hatred, because it is the enlightener of mankind, diffusing intelligence, communicating sympathies, and exciting a community of interest between nations, whom he wishes to dissever, that separately he may enslave them; of his jealousy, because it is the foundation of the strength and greatness of that power (the happy country in which we live) by whose interference alone his schemes of universal dominion can be defeated. With such a man, is it *our* fault that we are not at peace? Through any peace that such a man would grant to our supplications, is it likely that the interests of commerce would be specially secured to us?

"If peace could be had, with the accustomed blessings, and with the ordinary security of peace, God forbid that it should not be accepted, that it should not be sought, with avidity! But the question is, whether such a peace is indeed to be had. And what I complain of as unfair and delusive in the argument of our adversaries is, that all the common-place topics of peace are pressed into their service, without examining how far those topics apply to the present situation of the world; and that the question is always stated by them as if it were one of abstract comparison between war, with all its train of calamities, and peace, with all its

attendant benefits; upon which comparison we perversely preferred the odious alternative of war.

"Nor are they contented with this unfairness. They describe, in glowing colours, the calamities incident to war; and more than insinuate, that those who support the government in the prosecution of the war (sinking always the consideration of its unavoidableness) are, therefore, insensible to the miseries of their fellow-creatures.

"War has, undoubtedly, its calamities and afflictions: where is the man that has the heart to witness them—to read of them—without being deeply affected? And where is the man who, when his heart is so affected, does not willingly stretch forth his hand, according to his means, to relieve them? Not, I am sure, in Liverpool; not, I am sure, among those around me, to whom this reproach of insensibility has been, of late, so emphatically applied.

"But I wish that our adversaries would deal out the like measure to our enemy and to ourselves; that they would draw the picture of war as affecting both parties engaged in it; and that, in doing so, they would mix their colours, and not accumulate all that is gloomy upon one side of the picture, contrasting with it all that is bright and cheering on the other. War has its calamities: many in which we are sharers; some from which, by the peculiar blessing of our situation, we are happily exempt, while they fall most heavily upon other nations. With all its alleviations, however, great undoubtedly are the calamities of a state of war. But how happens it, that, while for the enemy it has, amidst all its calamities, its consolations and its glories, we hear on our side only of what we suffer, and never of what we achieve? How happens it, that the same persons who, when they look at the victories of our enemies,

are so dazzled as to see nothing of the privations and miseries of France, when they contemplate the exploits of this country, turn the diminishing end of the glass, but present us, at the same time, with a magnified view of our misfortunes?

"When I consider at what cost the victories of France are obtained: when I consider, not in France only, but in all the conquered countries, the destruction of industry; the stagnation of commerce; manufactures and agriculture languishing for want of hands; aged parents weeping over the desolation of their families, and the teeming mother almost deprecating the birth of her male child, who is to be torn away to pitiless destruction, before his limbs have the pith of manhood formed in them, I contemplate a scene of grievous distress and suffering. But I do not suffer my imagination so far to run away with me as to deny, that for all this distress conquest is *some* compensation, and that the subjects of the conqueror are consoled for their sufferings by a sense of national glory. Only let it be granted, that, for privations, great indeed, but surely less than those of the subjects of our enemy, we, too, may be capable of deriving some consolation from a series of achievements reflecting lustre on the national character; achievements almost unexampled in our past history, and such as, only a few years ago, the most sanguine imagination would hardly have ventured to anticipate!

"I am not saying—God forbid I should say so!—let us continue a war, otherwise unnecessary and unavoidable, for the sake of military glory. I am not even quarrelling with that sober and staid philosophy which views all military glory as delusive and dangerous to mankind. I am only desiring that there may be something of impartiality in our moral animadversions; and that, if (as I contend) peace cannot be had, and if (as is the natural

consequence) war must be endured, we may be allowed, as well as our enemy, to mitigate (I will not say to compensate) what we suffer in privation, by what we gain in glory.

"Gentlemen, I do not say, that this splendid accession of military fame ought to make us enamoured of the war, or to reconcile us to persevering in it, if a solid peace were really attainable. But are they who impute this argument to us, and who maintain the adverse argument themselves, prepared to say, that peace, purchased at *any* price, is preferable to a war carried on with such sacrifices as we are making? If they are, I take the liberty of telling them, that one part of the price which we should now have to pay for peace, would be the surrender of our maritime rights, and therewith, at no distant time, of the very commerce for which they are so anxious to provide. If they answer, as they sometimes do, that they do not mean total surrender, then I reply, that they have, as I said before, no right to take the benefit to themselves of all the general arguments for peace in the abstract; for there are, in that case, certain terms on which they themselves would not make peace—on which they themselves would continue the miseries of war; and the question between them and us, therefore, is *not*, as they state it, 'Peace or war;' but, 'Is peace *now* attainable on terms such as even they would recommend or sanction.' This may be, and it is, a very weighty question; but it is *not* the question which has been so loudly clamoured in your ears, and the happy and easy solution of which was promised to you, if you would return my antagonists to Parliament.

"Return them to Parliament, you were told, and the streets of Liverpool would presently resound again with the hum of peaceful industry, and your ports would

again be crowded with the commerce of the world. I have never answered these representations but by one question:—If England sink, how is Liverpool to survive? In other words, such ought, undoubtedly, to be the effects of peace; but that such should be its effects must depend upon the character of the peace, and not merely upon the name.

"Character has sometimes been said to be an inconvenience. An individual of high reputation dares not do a dishonourable act, however it might contribute to a present advantage. A nation which has taken such a stand as Great Britain has now long maintained in the world, cannot forfeit its honour without risking its very existence.

"If, indeed, the ingenuity of man could devise an arrangement by which the commercial interests of Liverpool could be saved at the expense of the general interests of the country, I might hesitate in presenting myself to you, in opposition to such an arrangement. But this is not attempted to be shown. It is argued, more broadly, that the country is in such a situation that we must yield, if not to a sense of the wickedness, at least to that of the hopelessness of war; and must conform our conduct, not to our vital interests, but to our fallen fortunes. All the allies of Great Britain, we are told, are unfortunate. The converse of this proposition is nearer the truth. The unfortunate are, and have become, by that very title, our allies. We have stepped forward to raise the fallen,—to sustain the oppressed,—to interpose between the prostrate victim and the descending sword of the conqueror. In all this I see nothing that impoverishes or impairs the national hope. I see much that exalts the national character. But, in truth, our interest is not at variance with our character: for scarcely is the commer-

cial prosperity of Liverpool more closely interwoven with the greatness of the country, than is the permanent greatness and the safety of England connected with the peace and freedom of Europe.

"But, at least, it has been said, we need not have aggravated the evils of the war, in which we are already engaged, by measures which have added America to the number of our enemies. Upon this subject, without entering into the question of the original policy of the Orders in Council, we are furnished with an answer, so far as America is concerned, out of the mouths of our antagonists themselves. Whether the war was of our seeking, or was of the choice of the American government, need not now be argued: for it has been admitted, nay, contended, by our antagonists, however that may be, that the concession which has been made, on our part, was such as ought to have restored peace. Whether that concession was wisely or improvidently made, might be a matter of controversy. I have no doubt myself upon the subject; but the thing is done, and I will not now argue about it. But, though whether it were wisely made or not be matter of controversy, that it was made fruitlessly is matter of fact. Concession, therefore, is not an infallible recipe for peace. And the only advantage, that I know of, which the government will have gained by giving up a system of measures, upon the principle of which (for I will say nothing of the details of its execution) they had stood firm for about five years, is in the promised support in Parliament, upon American questions, of those members of the Opposition who recommended this surrender.

"The Orders in Council being now defunct, it would be useless to take up your time with explaining and defending their principle, and showing (as I think I could

show) that a steady adherence to it (if it had been steadily adhered to) would have afforded a chance, at least, of forcing upon the enemy a change of his anti-commercial system. The abandonment of them has not produced the specific good which was guaranteed to us, in the restoration of peace with America; we are now, therefore, to look for it, I hope, in that happy unanimity with which the war against America is henceforth to be carried on."

The remarks with which he concluded are spirited and just.

"Before the election took place, gentlemen, you heard enough, from the friends of our antagonists, of your own importance in the scale of the empire; and, no doubt, had you chosen as they wished, you would have continued to be, in their estimation and panegyrics, the first commercial town in England. But now I hear and read that you are little better than a rotten borough; a place of no account or rightful influence in the concerns of the country; warped by partial pursuits, and subservient to objects of individual gain.

"Not such, gentlemen, is my estimate of the importance of this great commercial community. There are those, indeed, who tell us, that the lords of the soil alone have an interest in the constitution, and ought alone to have weight in the councils of England: a doctrine singularly coincident with that which is held by France, with respect to England herself, that extent of territory and of population alone confers a just right to sway and preponderance among nations, to the empire of the land and of the sea. Gentlemen, a similar answer may be given to both these arguments. Not to the possessors of the soil alone, but to those also who, by their commercial enterprise and honest industry, raise the acres of that

soil to a hundredfold their value, belongs a share of weight in the representation of their country, and a due degree of influence in its public concerns. Great Britain, small in extent though she be, and neither blessed with natural fertility, nor with exuberance of population, as compared with the more favoured empires of the earth, yet mighty and powerful by her acquired means, by her commercial and maritime strength, refutes the haughty pretension of territorial ascendancy; and, while she wields the trident, establishes her right to share the sceptre, of the world."

How true are these observations on popularity:— "Gentlemen, there are two sorts of popularity: there is one which is to be gained by watching the weak moments of the public opinion, by aggravating temporary difficulties, or by courting and inflaming the bad passions of the populace. There is another, which is to be won by bearing up, firmly and steadily, under whatever difficulties, even, if necessary, under misconstruction and obloquy, in faithful adherence to the principles by which our greatness as a nation and our happiness as a people are to be maintained. To the former sort of popularity I make no pretension; but I cannot look round upon the company here assembled, and deny that the latter, if I should be so fortunate as to deserve it, would, indeed, be dear to my heart."

The new Parliament met in November, 1812, and Mr. Canning was actively engaged from the very commencement. He could scarcely be termed an Oppositionist, yet many of his objections, and his questions to lord Castlereagh in particular, had the effect of an opposition, whatever intentions gave rise to them. On the question of the propriety of admitting Bonaparte's claim to the title of Emperor, he said, "I will never maintain any

such doctrine as that of refusing to treat with *any government* which may be established in any country." In this comprehensive sentence, he clearly defined the sovereignty of the people, and declared that what the public voice decreed should be received as legitimate.—These words should be remembered by his successors, as they do equal honour to the man and the minister,—they contain the essence of justice and of policy.

In the early part of 1813, the following paragraph found its way into the journals in the Whig interest.

"The marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning, with their respective parliamentary friends, have coalesced with the Opposition. All differences between the marquis and lord Grey have been removed; and, in consequence of an arrangement highly satisfactory to all parties, Mr. Canning is to take Mr. Ponsonby's place, and to lead this powerful Opposition in the House of Commons."

This annunciation had a very powerful effect, nor was it ever contradicted; whether such an arrangement was ever concluded, it is impossible to say, but it would seem that there can be little doubt of its having been contemplated. Shortly after this, a negociation for introducing Mr. Canning into the Cabinet was renewed; but it ended, as all the other attempts concluded—in nothing satisfactory being effected. Mr. Canning's opposition was confined to minor points in the House, except where the interests of his constituents was concerned. He presented the merchants' petition, and strongly opposed the monopoly of the East India Company.

On the subject of the American war, Mr. Canning spoke on the 18th of February. It unfortunately happens, that many of his most celebrated speeches having been delivered on ephemeral topics, are become uninte-

resting, because the circumstances that induced them are unremembered; that is peculiarly the case with this speech;—in it, Mr. Canning took a comprehensive view of the powers of the New World, and indulged in some severities on the inertness of our maritime establishment:—"I fear," he said, "that the Admiralty hold the pen when they should launch their thunder."

On sir Francis Burdett's motion to provide against interruption in the exercise of the royal authority, in case of the Regent's dying before the King, Mr. Canning did not speak; though, as it merged the interests of the Princess, it was generally expected that he would have done so.

On Mr. Grattan's motion on the Catholic question, (March) Mr. Canning did not speak for the first three days. Sir William Scott reprobated his conduct, and said, the whole House were anxious to hear him on the subject. This was followed by *a general call of the House*, with which Mr. Canning complied; but his speech was confined to replies to the arguments of others; and, unless the observations of Mr. Bankes and others were inserted, Mr. Canning's speech would be unintelligible. The same remark applies to his celebrated satirical reply to sir J. Cox Hippesley on the same subject (12th of May).

About this time, a ridiculous rumour got abroad, that only claims mention from the assertion then made, that it had some effect on the mind of our hero. In the summer of 1813, a man of the name of Murray publicly asserted that William Pitt was alive—that he had seen him, and spoken to him. This singular assertion attracted the attention of Mr. Whitbread, and, it is said, of Mr. Canning;* but that attention was excited from

* The statement of Murray may not prove uninteresting, as another instance, amid the many, of striking resemblance being

humanity to a maniac—not credence of his story. Money was due to this poor fellow, from Mr. Pitt's department;

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construed into identity. At all events, the thing having excited a great degree of public attention at the period, is worthy of a note. We present this statement as it appeared in a literary journal of the period.

"One Francis Murray, now of Green Street, Lambeth, locksmith, was, in 1788, employed as a constable to watch the French emigrants here; in which service he expended £30; but his immediate employer (Mr. Mason) dying abroad, and Mr. Pitt, as it was said, having died in January 1806, he lost all hopes of getting his money. Passing, however, along the London Road, St. George's Fields, one evening in November 1806, he met Mr. Pitt on horseback. From this time, being well acquainted with Mr. Pitt, having seen him every week for twenty years together, Murray began to talk of the circumstance, (first taking care to watch and see the right honourable gentleman several times;) in consequence of which he was deemed by some a madman, and by others an impostor, by which he lost his connexions in trade, which made him rather backward in the business. Still he kept on watching, till 1808, and traced Mr. Pitt to Richardson's stable-yard, in Westminster Road, where he went by the name of Chapman. Calling again at these stables, about a week after, he was informed that the gentleman had removed his horses to Somers's stables, opposite the Asylum. Here he watched, and in three or four days saw Mr. Pitt enter the place, leave his horse, and proceed on foot to lord Castlereagh's office, in St. James's Park. Murray followed; and, at the door of the office, challenged him as being 'No other than the right honourable William Pitt, late Prime Minister of England; *whereupon he looked exceedingly terrified, and hastened in doors without speaking a word!*' About a fortnight after, he again met Mr. Pitt in a gig, when he again challenged him; upon which he bowed and drove off. In April 1809, he also challenged him at the door of lord Liverpool's office, when he looked terrified as before. In the evening, Murray, accompanied by a friend, saw Mr. Pitt pass Westminster Bridge, *escorted by four Bow-street horse patrols.* In September, October, and November, 1811, he saw, accosted, and conversed with Mr. Pitt several times; on one of which occasions, he said, in a low tone of voice, 'You are all mistaken.' In June 1812, he again stopped Mr. Pitt in the street, and demanded his money: upon which, says Murray, 'finding he had no means of escape, he gave me his word and honour, that he would inquire into the particulars,

and that money was subsequently paid. The humane interference of Mr. Whitbread and of Mr. Canning

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and that I should be paid.' Nothing, however, being done, though Mr. Pitt said he had written to Mr. Conant, the magistrate, on the subject, Murray called upon the magistrate, who said, that 'he must go to the Treasury, and inquire for Mr. Chapman; for in that name he passed, and that he was one of the clerks.' He accordingly went off to the Treasury, saw Mr. Pitt coming out of lord Liverpool's office, told him of his visit to Mr. Conant, and explained to him the nature of his demand: but nothing then followed. On the 10th of July, 1812, he again accosted Mr. Pitt, in the presence of twenty or thirty bystanders, at Gallen's livery-stables, in King Street, when Mr. Pitt told him plainly, 'that all his pains were useless.' Here, Murray says, he lost all patience; called the right honourable gentleman a shuffler, an impostor, a traitor—and threatened to take him to the bar of the House of Commons, and expose him to all the world! Mr. Pitt made no reply, but hung down his head, and drove off.

"About this time, the indefatigable Murray called upon Mr. Whitbread, and gave him some papers on the subject, which he promised to read. On the 12th July, he was going to lord Holland's, at Kensington, to tell him of the circumstance, when he met Mr. Whitbread coming out, who expressed his surprise that he should still persist in his assertions respecting Mr. Pitt, and asked when he saw him last? After some conversation, it was agreed that a meeting should take place in Parliament Street, on Monday the 13th. Mr. Whitbread, about six o'clock on that day, came out of the House of Commons, with another gentleman; and said, he could not attend himself, but that the gentleman present knew Mr. Pitt very well, and he would go with him. They went into King Street, and Murray pointed out Mr. Pitt. The gentleman desired Murray to go back; which he pretended to do, but watched them. When the gentleman came up to Mr. Pitt, Murray heard him say, '*For God's sake, turn back, turn back, sir; you are discovered.*' Murray followed them: they at last stood still, and beckoned him. The gentleman in company with Mr. Pitt asked Murray if he knew who he was? Murray replied, that he was Mr. Pitt. The gentleman then said, his name is Chapman. Murray said that it was false; his name was Pitt. They desired him not to speak so loud, and to put on his hat. After some further conversation, it was settled that he should go to Mr. Whitbread's the next morning.

(though what positive part he took in the transaction never appeared,) was directed only to this point. Gen-

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He did so; but the meeting was postponed till the 24th, when all the parties were to assemble there. Suspecting that some mischief was plotting against him, Murray wrote a letter to Mr. Whitbread, which his wife carried. Having, she says, arrived at Mr. Whitbread's, she was waiting in the hall when Mr. Pitt came in, and walked into the front parlour; that while she was there, several ill-looking fellows were let in, and sent down stairs. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Whitbread having remained in conference for about a quarter of an hour, Mrs. Murray was called before them, when the following dialogue took place:—

"'*Mr. W.* I presume you are Mrs. Murray?—A. Yes.

"'*Mr. W.* This is the gentleman your husband takes to be Mr. Pitt, but he is not Mr. Pitt: he is tall, to be sure, like Mr. Pitt, and he wears leather breeches, and looks like Mr. Pitt; but his features are not like Mr. Pitt; his hair, his complexion, his limbs, and his feet, are not like Mr. Pitt. Does your husband mean to extort money under false pretences?—A. Dear me, no; that I'm sure he does not. Well, I am sure, sir, if the gentleman is not the real gentleman, it is a pity but he had put a stop to this business before.

"'*Mr. P.* Does anybody else say I am Mr. Pitt, besides your husband?—A. I do not know, sir, much about that. I have heard some say you are the real gentleman; and I believe it myself, as well as many others; and there are those again who will have it to be all false.

"'*Mr. P.* Why, if I were to pay this £30, the world would say I was the man.

"'*Mr W.* Aye; but this is not Mr. Pitt, and on my oath it is not Mr. Pitt. Is your husband right here? *(pointing to his forehead.)*—A. Lord, yes! I never knew any thing the matter with him, and I have been married to him these thirty-three years.'

"Mr. Whitbread here wrote the following note to Mr. Murray, with which he dismissed his wife:—

"'*Mr. Murray*,—I am very sorry you could not come. Your wife and child are here, and in their presence, and in the presence of *Mr. Chapman*, who is here also, and who is the man you mistake for Mr. Pitt, I write that it is not Mr. Pitt.—He is thin and wears leather breeches, and in these circumstances alone he resembles Mr. Pitt. His features are not like Mr. Pitt,—his complexion is not

tlemen who knew Mr. Pitt so intimately, and our hero, who had seen the coffin closed upon him, and followed

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like Mr. Pitt,—his hair is not like Mr. Pitt,—his hands and feet are not like Mr. Pitt,—and he is not so tall as Mr. Pitt.—Upon my oath, he is not Mr. Pitt. I therefore say to you, after this solemn assurance, you must be satisfied and quiet. I entreat you to let this close the matter for ever.—Your friend,

" ' *Dover Street, July* 24, 1812. " ' S. WHITBREAD.'

" Upon the receipt of this conclusive letter, Murray was much exasperated, and sallied out in quest of Mr. Pitt, whom he met going out of town in the evening. He stopped him, and asked whether that was the way he meant to pay him, by attempting to immure him in a mad-house? ' I abused and threatened him,' says Murray, ' in the presence of the mob, who gathered round: he appeared much terrified, and said, *Don't threaten, for that is not the way to get your money.*'—On the 28th, he received a letter from Mr. Conant, stating, that if he would call at the Office, he had orders to do something for him; and, on the 23d of August, Murray received from Mr. Conant twelve pounds out of the thirty due to him.—Finding he could get nothing more from them, he resolved to petition Parliament, and left a petition with sir Francis Burdett. Sir Francis sent a gentleman to the Police Office and to the Treasury, to know who it was that had ordered the payment of the twelve pounds. ' He found,' says Murray, ' that the pretended Mr. Chapman did not belong to the Treasury, but to the Colonial Office: on a strict inquiry, he proved him to be the right honourable William Pitt.'—Through the medium of this gentleman, a negociation was opened; and, on the 5th of January, 1813, Murray received, in the hall of sir F. Burdett's house in Piccadilly, a check on Mr. Coutts for twenty pounds, by the hands of a Mr. Butts; for which he gave a receipt, and signed a promise that he would never again challenge Mr. Chapman, or make any further demand upon him, they having first promised, he says, to procure him a place, to compensate him for his loss of time, &c.

" On the 17th of March last, Murray says he met Mr. Pitt *arm in arm with Mr. Chapman*, in Little Portland Street. Mr. Pitt called out, ' Murray, Murray!' and asked him if he had got his situation. He said, No. Mr. Pitt said, he had spoken for him, and would speak again.—In May, Murray presented a letter to Mr. Abbott, the speaker, concerning this promise: Mr. Abbott merely said, he had no authority over that department.—On the 1st of August, he

him to the grave, could scarcely be supposed to be affected by such a tale; but singularity often attracts notice,

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met Mrs. Sparrow, widow of a king's messenger: he told her, that if Mr. Pitt did not perform his promise, he would fulfil his, and he knew what that was.—On the 7th, he received a letter from Mr. Conant, desiring him to attend at the Office on the 9th. He did so, and, suspecting what they were about, took three neighbours with him as bail. Mrs. Sparrow attended, and swore, that he had threatened Mr. Chapman's life.—Murray denied having mentioned the name of Chapman. After some hesitation, the magistrate sent for Mr. Chapman, who in about two hours made his appearance.—Upon his entry, Murray said, that he was not Mr. Chapman, but the right honourable William Pitt, of which he was prepared to make oath. Mr. Pitt, *alias* Mr. Chapman, here demanded what all this meant?—Murray said, he was brought there to prosecute him, and he insisted that he should be bound over for that purpose.—Mr. Chapman asked what he should prosecute him for?—Murray then reminded him of his promise to get him a place; which he did not deny, but said he had it not in his power.—He then asked, if the bail had any personal knowledge of Mr. Pitt?—One said, he had not the honour of knowing him, but he knew enough of Murray's character to believe what he offered to swear to.—Another replied, 'I do not recollect having seen Mr. Pitt *before he rose from the dead; but I am sure I see him now.*'

"'*Mr. P.* Where did you know me, Murray?—A. At St. James's, your honour.

"'*Mr. P.* You may have seen me get into my carriage.—A. Yes; and many a time have I helped you into your carriage.

"'*Mr. P.* How is that?—A. When your servants were out of the way, and gone to take refreshment, and did not expect you so soon.'

"No inclination being shown to let the law take its course, Murray took his hat, and left the Office with his bail, first saying, 'Gentlemen, you seem to make a laugh of this business; you now see who is right and who is wrong: here is my bail, if you choose to take it. You will rather, perhaps, choose to take a few days for consideration: do so, if you like it: you know where to find me: I am forthcoming at any hour.'

"'Being well aware of the childish notion which has been entertained on the subject of my imputed madness, I hereby engage to bring forward five hundred respectable persons to refute that silly suggestion. (Signed) "'F. MURRAY.'"

though it cannot enforce belief. Mr. Canning knew Mr. Chapman (the person whom Murray mistook for Pitt) well, and that alone might clear him from the imputation of having been silly enough to listen a moment to such a story, but from the motives already named.

The brilliant successes of our army, in the autumn of this year, are indelibly impressed on the memory of every Briton. The great victory of the allied armies called forth the praises of Parliament; and, on the Committee on Foreign Treaties, that took place on the 18th of November, Mr. Canning followed lord Castlereagh in the following speech:—

"Having been unfortunately absent when the general assurances of support on the part of the House were given, in answer to the speech from the throne; I am anxious to take this opportunity of expressing, as strongly and as warmly as I am able, my concurrence in those assurances. If, in the present state of this country, and of the world, those who, during the course of the tremendous and protracted struggle, on various occasions called upon Parliament to pause—to retard its too rapid and too rash advance—and to draw back from the task it had unwisely undertaken to perform, *have manfully and honourably stepped forward** to join their congratulations to the joyful acclamations of the nation, and to admit, that the period was favourable to a mighty and decided effort,—how much more grateful must it be to those, who at no time during the struggle have lifted up their voices in this place, excepting to recommend and to urge new exertions; to those who, when the prospects were most dreary and melancholy, insisted that there was but one

* Alluding to the generous admission made by some members of the Opposition of the incorrectness of their views.

course becoming the character and honour of Great Britain—a persevering, an undaunted resistance to the overwhelming power of France. To an individual who, under the most discouraging circumstances, still maintained, that the deliverance of Europe (often a derided term) was an object not only worthy of our arms, but possible to be achieved, it must be doubly welcome to come forward to acknowledge his transports, and to vindicate his share in the national exultation. If, too, on the other hand, there have been those, who having recommended pacification when the opportunity was less favourable, are now warranted, as undoubtedly they are, in uttering the same sentiments, in the confidence that the country will sympathise with them, it is natural for those who, under other circumstances, have discouraged the expectation of peace, and have warned the nation against precipitate overtures, now to be anxious to embrace this occasion of stating their sincere conviction and their joy, as strongly felt by them as by others, that by the happy course of events during the last year, and by the wise policy we shall now pursue, peace may not perhaps be within our grasp, but at least within our view.

"The vote we are this night called upon to make is in part prospective, and part retrospective, for services actually performed. Of that portion which is prospective, the noble lord has properly deferred the discussion; but of that portion which is retrospective, we are enabled to judge; and, large as the expenditure now proposed may seem, I think no man who compares the station we now hold with that which we occupied at any former period of the contest, can doubt that the expenditure has been wisely incurred, and that the services actually performed have fully merited the disbursement. I agree with those who are of opinion that the time is now ar-

rived, when we may look forward to the attainment of peace; but I am far from disguising from myself, and I deem it of infinite importance that the country should not disguise from itself, the difficulties with which we may have still to struggle; we must not deceive ourselves by supposing that the game is actually won; that the problem is mathematically solved; that we have done all that is necessary to ensure lasting tranquillity.

"What we have accomplished is establishing the foundation upon which the Temple of Peace may be erected; and imagination may now picture the completion of that structure, which, with hopes less sanguine, and hearts less high, it would have been folly to have attempted to raise. We may now confidently hope to arrive at the termination of labour, and the attainment of repose. It is impossible to look back to those periods when the enemy vaunted, and we perhaps feared, that we should have been compelled to sue for peace, amid all the effervescings of joy, without returning thanks to Providence, that gave us courage and heart still to bear up against accumulating calamity. Peace is safe now, because it is not dictated: peace is safe now, for it is the fruit of exertion—the child of Victory: peace is safe now, because it will not be purchased at the expense of the interest and the honour of the empire: it is not the ransom to buy off danger, but the lovely fruit of the mighty means we have employed to drive danger from our shores.

"I must, with heartfelt delight, congratulate my country, that, groaning as she has done, at former periods, under the heavy pressure of adverse war, still 'peace was despaired of, for who could think of submission?' Her strength, her endurance, have been tried and proved: every mode of assault that the most refined

system of hostility could invent, not only by open military attacks, but by low attempts to destroy her commercial prosperity. The experiment has been made—the experiment has failed—and we are now triumphantly, but not arrogantly, to consider what measures of security should be adopted—on what terms a peace should be concluded. But, as is before remarked, peace is only within our view, not within our grasp. We must still look forward to an arduous struggle with an enemy, whose energies have grown with his misfortunes, and who will leave no efforts untried to remove us from the lofty pinnacle we have attained. We are not yet in a situation in which we have a right to discuss the terms of pacification: but, so far I agree with the noble lord, that the happy changes that have taken place, must not alter the principle on which a treaty should be founded; they do not vary with circumstances; we must secure and guard our own honour and interest, but we must not expect from our enemy that to which we ourselves should not submit—that he should sacrifice to us his own honour and interest, to him equally dear. All will agree, however, that this is not precisely the time for these discussions. We must contemplate from him a renewed and vehement struggle; he will not tamely submit to degradation, but will continue his efforts; and if we arrive at the desired goal, it can only be by the road we are now pursuing.

"But, with reference to the vote of this night, as far as it may be considered prospective, as to the exertions we are called upon in future to make, I must observe, that, even if our hopes of peace should be postponed, or even disappointed, is it nothing to reflect upon the posture we are enabled to assume, by the achievements we have already performed? Is it nothing to look back

upon the fallen, the crouching attitude of enslaved Europe, at a period not long distant, and compare it with the upright, free, undaunted posture in which she now stands? Living memory can recal no period when she was entitled to hold her head so high, and to bid such bold defiance to her enemy. What, let me ask, is the first and brightest fruit of the late successful conflict? First, that continuity of system—that instrument of not wholly ineffectual hostility against Great Britain, which, until lately, was supposed to be growing in strength and perfection, has been destroyed. That complex machine, directed against our trade, has received a blow which has shivered it to atoms. The enemy is doubly defeated—his arms and his artifices have failed. Burdened as it was, still there is something in the incomprehensible nature of commerce, which rises under the weight of the most powerful tyranny. His efforts have been exhausted; his monarchy was reduced to sink our commerce; but, rising with tenfold vigour, it has defied his puny efforts, never to be repeated. The next point we have attained, is the destruction of his own darling system of confederation—I mean that system by which he has formed all the states of continental Europe into satellites of the French empire, that move only as it moves, and act only by its influence. They are now emancipated, the yoke has been removed from their shoulders. The nations rise superior to themselves—

> 'Free, and to none accountable, preferring
> 'Hard liberty before the easy yoke
> 'Of servile pomp!'

"But, since all the events of war are precarious, it is possible that, after retiring awhile, the tyrant of Europe (now no longer its tyrant) may again burst forward, and again with desolation in his train, awhile victorious, at-

tempt to collect the fragments of that system, and to reconstruct that mighty engine which we have shattered, but which once, guided by his hand, hurled destruction on his foes. It is impossible! After the defeats he has sustained, all confidence between him and his vassal states must be annihilated. Admitting that they may be compelled again to act, can he rely upon their exertions, or can they depend upon his support? He may go forth like that foul idol, of which we heard so much in the last year, crushing his helpless victims beneath his chariot-wheels; but he never again can yoke them to his car, as willing instruments of destruction. Even if Austria, by base submission to the sacrifice of her honour, were to add the sacrifice of another daughter, and of another army of 30,000 men, that mutual confidence which existed at the commencement of the last campaign can never be restored.

"So much for the present state of Europe: but has this country gained nothing by the glorious contest, even supposing peace should be far distant? Is it nothing to Great Britain, even purchased at the high price stated by the noble lord, that, under all the severity of her sufferings, while her trade declined, that her military character has been exalted? Is it no satisfaction, no compensation to her to reflect that the splendid scenes displayed on the Continent are owing to her efforts? That the victories of Germany are to be attributed to our victories in the Peninsula? That spark, often feeble, sometimes so nearly extinguished as to excite despair in all hearts that were not above it, which we lighted in Portugal, which was fed and nourished there, has at length burst into a flame, that has dazzled and illuminated Europe. Shall it then be said that this struggle has had no effect upon the military character of Great Britain?

At the commencement of this war, our empire rested upon one majestic column, our naval power. In the prosecution of the war, a hero has raised another stupendous pillar of strength to support our monarchy, our military pre-eminence. It is now that we may boast not only of superiority at sea, but on shore: the same energy and heroism exists in both the arms of Great Britain—they are rivals in strength, but inseparable in glory.

"If, at a future period, by successes we cannot foresee, and by aggressions we cannot resist, war should again be threatened upon our own shores, what consolation will the reflection afford, that out of the calamities and the privations of war, has arisen a principle of safety, that, superior to all attacks, shall survive through ages, to which even our posterity shall look forward. Compare the situation of England with her condition even at the beginning of the last campaign, much more with her condition at the renewal of the war. Were we not then threatened by the aggression of an enemy even upon our own shores? Were we not then trembling for the safety and sanctity even of our homes? Now contemplate Wellington encamped on the Bidassoa!

"I know that a sickly sensibility prevails abroad, which leads some to doubt whether the advance of lord Wellington was not rash and precipitate. Of the political expediency of that advance, I can entertain but one opinion: I cannot enter into that refinement, which induces those who affect to know much, to hesitate upon the subject: I cannot look with regret at a British army encamped upon the fertile plains of France: I cannot believe that any new grounds for apprehension are raised by an additional excitement being afforded to the irritability of the French people: I foresee no disadvantage resulting from entering the territories of our enemy, not

as the conquered but the conquerors: I cannot believe that there are any so weak as to imagine, that England wishes to maintain a position within the heart of the enemy's country, or that Spain will attempt to extend her dominion beyond that vast chain of impregnable mountains that seem to form her natural boundary. What is the fact? The Portuguese are now looking upon the walls of Bayonne, 'that circle in those wolves' that would have devastated their capital; the Portuguese now behold, planted on the towers of Bayonne, that standard that their enemy would have made to float upon the walls of Lisbon.

"I cannot think it a matter of regret, that Spaniards are now recovering, from the grasp of an enemy on his own shores, that diadem which was stripped from the brow of the Bourbons, to be pocketed by an usurper. I cannot think it a matter of regret that England, formerly threatened with invasion, is now the invader—that France, instead of England, is the scene of conflict:

'——— Ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes
'Dardanus, et versis lugeret Græcia fatis!'

I cannot think all this matter of regret; and if those who believe that I and the nation are blinded by our successes, I entreat that they will leave me to my delusion, and keep their philosophy to themselves.

"There are other observations, growing not only out of the proceedings of the last year, but since the commencement of the war, that to my mind are highly consoling. It is a fact acknowledged by all, that our enemy, who has enslaved the press, and made it contribute so importantly to his own purposes of ambition at various periods during the hostilities, has endeavoured to impress upon all those who were likely to be our allies, a

notion that Great Britain only fought to secure her own interests—that her views were completely selfish. That illusion is now destroyed, and the designs of this country are vindicated by recent events. We call on all the powers with whom we are at war, to do us justice in this respect: above all, we claim it of America, with which, as much as any man, I wish for reconciliation. If she were now hesitating and wavering which of the two great contending parties she should join, would not the conduct of England now decide the doubt? I ask her to review her own and the policy of this country, and to acknowledge that we are deserving, not only of her confidence, but of the support of mankind. Now she can behold Bonaparte in his naked deformity, stripped of the false glory which success cast around him: the spell of his invincibility is now dissolved: she now can look at him without that awe which an uninterrupted series of victories had created. Were she now to survey him as he is, what would be the result? She would trace him by the desolation of empires and the dismemberment of states: she would see him pursuing his course over the ruins of men and of things: slavery to the people, and destruction to commerce; hostility to literature, to light and life, were the principles upon which he acted: his object was to extinguish patriotism and to confound allegiance; to darken as well as to enslave; to roll back the tide of civilization; to barbarize, as well as to desolate mankind. Then let America turn from this disgusting picture, these scenes of bloodshed and horror, and compare with them the effect of British interference! She will see that wherever this country has exerted herself, it has been to raise the fallen, and to support the falling; to raise, not to degrade the national character; to rouse the sentiments of patriotism that tyranny had silenced; to

enlighten, to re-animate, to liberate.—Great Britain has resuscitated Spain, and recreated Portugal—Germany is now a nation as well as a name;—and all these glorious effects have been produced by the efforts, and by the example of our country. If to be the deliverers of Europe; if to have raised our own national character, not upon the ruins of other kingdoms; if to meet dangers without shrinking, and to possess courage rising with difficulties, be admirable, surely we may not unreasonably hope for the applause of the world. If we have founded our strength upon a rock, and possess the implicit confidence of those allies whom we have succoured when they seemed beyond relief, then, I say, that our exertions during the last year, all our efforts during the war, are cheaply purchased: if we have burdened ourselves, we have relieved others; and we have the inward, the soul-felt, the proud satisfaction of knowing, that a selfish charge is that which, with the faintest shadow of justice, cannot be brought against us."

Mr. Canning then entered into some financial detail that would not now be interesting to the reader, and concluded his speech as follows:—

"It has been often said, that the language of true poetry is the language of universal nature; but I believe that the empress of France was little conscious when she made her speech to the senate, respecting her husband, that she was employing almost the very words of our great epic poet, who puts them in the mouth of the first rebel and usurper on record, who is speaking of the disappointment of the followers whom he had seduced—

'——— Ah me! They little know
How dearly I abide that boast I made;
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of hell!'

"Thus I have stated a few of the remarks that press upon me in the present posture of affairs. I ardently hope that the result will be a general pacification, in which the interests of the civilised world will be duly consulted: if it should be necessary to continue hostilities, may we contend as we have fought during the last campaign, with matchless strength, arising from the firmness of the indissoluble union of the allies, whose cause is, and whose exertions ought to be, one! May Great Britain still maintain that dignity of station, and support that grandeur and liberality of design, upon which she has hitherto acted—may she continue the unoppressive guardian of the liberties she has vindicated, and the disinterested protectress of the blessings she has bestowed!"

When Parliament adjourned, in December, 1813, Mr. Canning went on a visit to his friend Mr. Gladstone, in Liverpool, and was received with every testimony of joy by his constituents. A dinner was proposed, to which the orator was invited; and on the 10th of January, 1814, the meeting took place.—His speech, on his health being drank, stands alone, even amid *his* efforts.

"Gentlemen, as your guest, I thank you, from my heart, for the honourable and affectionate reception which you have given me. As the representative of Liverpool, I am most happy in meeting my constituents again, after a year's experience of each other, and a year's separation; a year, the most eventful in the annals of the world, and comprising, within itself, such a series of stupendous changes as might have filled the history of an age.

"Gentlemen, you have been so good as to couple with my name the expression of your acknowledgments for the attention which I have paid to the interests of your town. You, gentlemen, I have no doubt, recollect the

terms upon which I entered into your service; and you are aware, therefore, that I claim no particular acknowledgment at your hands for attention to the interests of Liverpool, implicated as they are with the general interests of the country. I trust, at the same time, that I have not been wanting to all or to any of you, in matters of local or individual concern. But I should not do fairly by you, if I were not to take this opportunity of saying, that a service (which, certainly, I will not pretend to describe as without some burden in itself) has been made light to me, beyond all example, by that institution which your munificence and provident care have established: I mean, the office in London, through which your correspondence with your members is now carried on. I had no pretension, gentlemen, to this singular mark of your considoration: but neither will it, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to confess, that I might not have been able to discharge the service which I owe you, in a way which would have satisfied my own feelings as well as yours—that I might, in spite of all my endeavours, have been guilty of occasional omissions, if I had not been provided with some such medium of communication with my constituents. Of an absent and meritorious individual it is as pleasing as it is just to speak well: and I do no more than justice to the gentleman* whom you have appointed to conduct the office in question, (with whom I had no previous acquaintance,) in bearing public testimony to his merit, and in assuring you, that it would be difficult to find any one who would surpass him in zeal, intelligence, and industry.

"Having despatched what it was necessary for me to say on these points, I know, gentlemen, that it is your

* Mr. John Backhouse.

wish, and I feel it to be my duty, that I should now proceed to communicate to you my sentiments on the state of public affairs, with the same frankness which has hitherto distinguished all our intercourse with each other. That duty is one which it does not now require any effort of courage to perform. To exhort to sacrifices, to stimulate to exertion, to shame despondency, to divert from untimely concession, is a duty of a sterner sort, which you found me not backward to discharge, at a period when, from the shortness of our acquaintance, I was uncertain whether my freedom might not offend you. My task of to-day is one at which no man can take offence. It is to mingle my congratulations with your rejoicings on the events which have passed and are passing in the world.

"If, in contemplating events so widely (I had almost said so tremendously) important, it be pardonable to turn one's view, for a moment, to local and partial considerations, I may be permitted to observe, that, while to Great Britain, while to all Europe, while to the world and to posterity, the events which have recently taken place are matter of unbounded and universal joy, there is no collection of individuals who are better entitled than the company now assembled in this room, (in great part, I presume, identically the same, and altogether representing the same interests and feelings as that of which I took leave, in this room, about fourteen months ago,) to exult in the present state of things, and to derive from it, in addition to their share of the general joy, a distinct and special satisfaction.

"We cannot forget, gentlemen, the sinister omens and awful predictions under which we met and parted in October, 1812. The penalty denounced upon you for your election of me was, embarrassment to the rich and

famine to the poor. I was warned, that, when I should return to renew my acquaintance with my constituents, I should find the grass growing in your streets. In spite of that denunciation, you did me the honour to elect me; in spite of that warning, I venture to meet you here again. It must be fairly confessed, that this is not the season of the year to estimate correctly the amount of superfluous and unprofitable vegetation with which your streets may be teeming; but, without presuming to limit the power of productive Nature, it is at least satisfactory to know, that the fields have not been starved to clothe your quays with verdure; that it is not by economizing in the scantiness of the harvest that Nature has reserved her vigour for the pastures of your Exchange.

"But, gentlemen, I am sure you feel with me, that these are topics which I treat with levity only because they are not, nor were, at the time when they were seriously urged, susceptible of a serious argument: they did not furnish grounds on which any man would rest his appeal to your favour, or on which your choice of any man could be justified. If I have condescended to revert to them at all, it is because I would leave none of those recollections untouched which the comparison of our last meeting with the present, I know, suggests to your minds as well as to my own; and because I would, so far as in me lies, endeavour to banish from all future use, by exposing their absurdity, topics which are calculated only to mislead and to inflame. That the seasons would have run their appointed course, that the sun would have shone with as genial a warmth, and the showers would have fallen with as fertilizing a moisture, if you had not chosen me for your representative, is an admission which I make without much apprehension of the consequence. Nor do I wish you to believe, that your choice of any

other than me would have delayed the return of your prosperity, or prevented the revival of your commerce.

"I make these admissions without fear, so far as concerns the choice between individuals. But I do not admit, that it was equally indifferent upon what principles that choice should be determined. I do not admit, that, if the principles which it was then recommended to you to countenance had unfortunately prevailed in Parliament, and, through the authority of Parliament, had been introduced into the counsels of the country, they would not have interfered with fatal operation, not indeed to arrest the bounty of Providence, to turn back the course of the seasons, and to blast the fertility of the earth, but to stop that current of political events which, 'taken at the flood,' has placed England at the head of the world.

"Gentlemen, if I had met you here again on this day in a state of public affairs as doubtful as that in which we took leave of each other; if confederated nations had been still arrayed against this country, and the balance of Europe still trembling in the scale, I should not have hesitated now, as I did not hesitate then, to declare my decided and unalterable opinion, that perseverance, under whatever difficulties, under whatever privations, afforded the only chance of prosperity to you, because the only chance of safety to your country; and the only chance of safety to the country, because the only chance of deliverance to Europe. Gentlemen, I should be ashamed to address you now in the tone of triumph, if I had not addressed you then in that of exhortation. I should be ashamed to appear before you shouting in the train of success, if I had not looked you in the face, and encouraged you to patience under difficulties. It is because my acquaintance with you commenced in times of peril and embarrassment, and because I then neither

flattered nor deceived you, that I now not only offer to you my congratulations, but put in my claim to yours, on the extinction of that peril, on the termination of that embarrassment, and on the glorious issue to which exertion and endurance have brought that great struggle in which our honour and our happiness were involved.

"Gentlemen, during the course of a political life, nearly coeval with the commencement of the war, I have never given one vote, I have never uttered one sentiment, which had not for its object the consummation now happily within our view.

"I am not ashamed, and it is not unpleasing or unprofitable, to look back upon the dangers which we have passed, and to compare them with the scene which now lies before us. We behold a country, inferior in population to most of her continental neighbours, but multiplying her faculties and resources by her own activity and enterprise, by the vigour of her constitution, and by the good sense of her people,—we behold her, after standing up against a formidable foe, throughout a contest, in the course of which every one of her allies, and, at times, all of them together, have fainted and failed—nay, have been driven to combine with the enemy against her,—we behold her, at this moment, rallying the nations of Europe to one point, and leading them to decisive victory.

"If such a picture were merely the bright vision of speculative philosophy, if it were presented to us in the page of the history of ancient times, it would stir and warm the heart. But, gentlemen, this country is our own; and what must be the feelings which arise, on such a review, in the bosom of every son of that country? What must be the feelings of a community such as I am now addressing, which constitutes no insignificant part

of the strength of the nation so described; which has suffered largely in her privations, and may hope to participate proportionably in her reward? What (I may be permitted to add) must be the feelings of one who is chosen to represent that community, and who finds himself in that honourable station at the moment of triumph, only because he discountenanced despair in the moment of despondency?

"From the contemplation of a spectacle so mighty and magnificent as this, I should disdain to turn aside to the controversies of party. Of principles, however, it is impossible not to say something; because our triumph would be incomplete, and its blessings might be transient, if we could be led astray by any sophistry; if we could consent, in a sort of compromise of common joy, to forget or to misstate the causes from which that triumph has sprung. All of one mind, I trust and believe, we are, in exulting at the success of our country; all of one mind, I trust, we now are throughout this land, in determining to persevere, if need be, in strenuous exertion to prosecute, and, I hope, to perfect the great work so happily in progress. But we know that there are some of those who share most heartily in the public exultation, who yet ascribe effects, which happily cannot be disputed, to causes which may justly be denied. No tenderness for disappointed prophecies, gentlemen, ought to induce us thus to disconnect effect and cause. It would lead to errors which might be dangerous, if unwarily adopted and generally received.

"We have heard, for instance, that the war has now been successful, because the principles on which the war was undertaken have been renounced; that we are, at length, blessed with victory, because we have thrown

away the banner under which we entered into the contest; that the contest was commenced with one set of principles, but that the issue has been happily brought about by the adoption of another. Gentlemen, I know of no such change. If we have succeeded, it has not been by the renunciation, but by the prosecution of our principles: if we have succeeded, it has not been by adopting new maxims of policy, but by upholding, under all varieties of difficulty and discouragement, old, established, inviolable principles of conduct.

"We are told, that this war has, of late, become *a war of the people*, and that, by the operation of that change alone, the power of imperial France has been baffled and overcome. Nations, it is said, have, at length, made common cause with their sovereigns, in a contest which, heretofore, had been a contest of sovereigns only. Gentlemen, the fact of the change might be admitted, without, therefore, admitting the argument. It does not follow, that the people were not at all times equally interested in the war, (as those who think as I do have always contended that they were,) because it may be and must be admitted, that the people, in many countries, were for a time deluded. They who argue against us, say, that jarring interests have been reconciled. We say, that gross delusions have been removed. Both admit the fact, that sovereigns and their people *are* identified. But it is for them who contend that this has been effected by change of principles, to specify the change. What change of principles or of government has taken place among the nations of Europe? We are the best judges of ourselves—what change has taken place *here*? Is the constitution other than it was, when we were told, (as we often were told in the bad times,) that it was a doubt whether it were worth defending? Is the consti-

tution other than it was, when we were warned that peace on any terms must be made, as the only hope of saving it from popular indignation and popular reform?

"There is yet another question to be asked. By what power, in what part of the world, has that final blow been struck which has smitten the tyrant to the ground? I suppose, by some enlightened republic; by some recently regenerated government of pure philanthropy and uncorrupted virtue: I suppose, by some nation which, in the excess of popular freedom, considers even a representative system as defective, unless each individual interferes directly in the national concerns; some nation of enlightened patriots, every man of whom is a politician in the coffee-house, as well as in the senate: I suppose it is from some such government as this, that the conqueror of autocrats, the sworn destroyer of monarchical England, has met his doom. I look through the European world, gentlemen, in vain: I find there no such august community. But in another hemisphere I do find such a one, which, no doubt, must be the political David by whom the Goliah of Europe has been brought down. What is the name of that glorious republic, to which the gratitude of Europe is eternally due,—which, from its innate hatred to tyranny, has so perseveringly exerted itself to liberate the world, and, at last, has successfully closed the contest? Alas, gentlemen, such a republic I do indeed find; but I find it enlisted, and (God be thanked!) enlisted alone, under the banner of the despot. But where was the blow struck? Where? Alas for theory! In the wilds of despotic Russia. It was followed up on the plains of Leipzig—by Russian, Prussian, and Austrian arms.

"But let me not be mistaken. Do I, therefore, mean

to contend—do I, therefore, give to our antagonists in the argument the advantage of ascribing to us the base tenet, that an absolute monarchy is better than a free government? God forbid! What I mean is this, that, in appreciating the comparative excellence of political institutions, in estimating the force of national spirit, and the impulses of national feeling, it is idle,—it is mere pedantry, to overlook the affections of nature. The order of nature could not subsist among mankind, if there were not an *instinctive* patriotism; I do not say unconnected with, but prior and paramount to, the desire of political amelioration. It may be very wrong that it should be so. I cannot help it. Our business is with fact. And, surely, it is not to be regretted, that tyrants and conquerors should have learned, from the lessons of experience, that the first consideration suggested to the inhabitant of any country, by a foreign invasion, is, not whether the political constitution of the state be faultlessly perfect or not; but, whether the altar at which he has worshipped,—whether the home in which he has dwelt from his infancy,—whether his wife and his children,—whether the tombs of his forefathers,—whether the palace of the sovereign, under whom he was born, and to whom he, therefore, owes (or, if it must be so stated, fancies that he, therefore, owes) allegiance, shall be abandoned to violence and profanation?

"That, in the infancy of the French revolution, many nations in Europe were, unfortunately, led to believe and to act upon a different persuasion, is undoubtedly true; that whole countries were overrun by reforming conquerors, and flattered themselves with being proselytes till they found themselves victims. Even in this country, as I have already said, there have been times when we have been called upon to consider, whether

there were not something at home which must be mended, before we could hope to repel a foreign invader with success.

"It is fortunate for the world, that this question should have been tried, if I may so say, to a disadvantage; that it should have been tried in countries where no man in his senses will say, that the frame of political society is such as, according to the most moderate principles of regulated freedom, it ought to be;—where, I will venture to say, without hazarding the imputation of being myself a visionary reformer, political society is not such as, after the successes of this war, and from the happy contagion of the example of Great Britain, it is sure gradually to become. It is fortunate for the world, that this question should have been tried on its own merits; that, after twenty years of controversy, we should be authorised, by undoubted results, to revert to nature and to truth, and to disentangle the genuine feelings of the heart from the obstructions which a cold, presumptuous, generalising philosophy had wound around them.

"One of the most delightful poets of this country, in describing the various proportions of natural blessings and advantages dispensed by Providence to the various nations of Europe, turns from the luxuriant plains and cloudless skies of Italy to the rugged mountains of Switzerland, and inquires, whether there, also, in those barren and stormy regions, the 'patriot passion' is found equally imprinted on the heart? He decides the question truly in the affirmative; and he says, of the inhabitant of those bleak wilds,

> 'Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
> And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
> And, as a child, when scaring sounds molest,
> Clings close and closer to the mother's breast,

So the loud torrent and the whirlwind's roar
But bind him to his native mountains more.'

"What Goldsmith thus beautifully applied to the physical varieties of soil and climate, has been found no less true with respect to political institutions. A sober desire of improvement, a rational endeavour to redress error, and to correct imperfection in the political frame of human society, are not only natural, but laudable in man. But it is well that it should have been shown, by irrefragable proof, that these sentiments, even where most strongly and most justly felt, supersede not that devotion to native soil which is the foundation of national independence. And it is right that it should be understood and remembered, that the spirit of national independence alone, aroused where it had slumbered, enlightened where it had been deluded, and kindled into enthusiasm by the insults and outrages of an all-grasping invader, has been found sufficient, without internal changes and compromises of sovereigns or governments with their people—without relaxations of allegiance and abjurations of authority, to animate, as with one pervading soul, the different nations of the Continent; to combine, as into one congenial mass, their various feelings, passions, prejudices; to direct these concentrated energies, with one impulse, against the common tyrant; and to shake (and, may we not hope? to overthrow) the *Babel* of his iniquitous power.

"Gentlemen, there is another argument, more peculiarly relating to our own country, which has, at times, been interposed to discourage the prosecution of the war. That this country is sufficient to its own defence, sufficient to its own happiness, sufficient to its own independence; and that the complicated combinations of continental policy are always hazardous to our interests, as

well as burdensome to our means, has been, at several periods of the war, a favourite doctrine, not only with those who, for other reasons, wished to embarrass the measures of the government, but with men of the most enlightened minds, of the most benevolent views, and the most ardent zeal for the interests as well as the honour of their country. May we not flatter ourselves, that, upon this point also, experience has decided in favour of the course of policy which has been actually pursued?

"Can any man now look back upon the trial which we have gone through, and maintain, that, at any period during the last twenty years, the plan of insulated policy could have been adopted, without having, in the event, at this day, prostrated England at the foot of a conqueror? Great, indeed, has been the call upon our exertions; great, indeed, has been the drain upon our resources; long and wearisome has the struggle been; and late is the moment at which peace is brought within our reach. But, even though the difficulties of the contest may have been enhanced, and its duration protracted by it, yet, is there any man who seriously doubts, whether the having associated our destinies with the destinies of other nations be or be not that which, under the blessing of Providence, has eventually secured the safety of all?

"It is at the moment when such a trial has come to its issue, that it is fair to ask of those who have suffered under the pressure of protracted exertion, (and of whom rather than of those who are assembled around me—for by whom have such privations been felt more sensibly?)—it is now, I say, the time to ask, whether, at any former period of the contest, such a peace could have been made as would at once have guarded the national interests, and corresponded with the national character? I address

myself now to such persons only as think the character o a nation an essential part of its strength, and, consequently, of its safety. But if, among persons of that description, there be one who, with all his zeal for the glory of his country, has yet, at times, been willing to abandon the contest in mere weariness and despair,—of such a man I would ask, whether he can indicate the period at which he now wishes that such an abandonment had been consented to by the Government and the Parliament of Great Britain?

"Is it when the Continent was at peace; when, looking upon the map of Europe, you saw one mighty and connected system, one great luminary, with his attendant satellites circulating around him; at that period could this country have made peace, and have remained at peace for a twelvemonth? What is the answer? Why, that the experiment was tried. The result was, the renewal of the war.

"Was it at a later period, when the continental system had been established? when two-thirds of the ports of Europe were shut against you? when but a single link was wanting to bind the Continent in a circling chain of iron, which should exclude you from intercourse with other nations? At that moment peace was most earnestly recommended to you. At that moment, gentlemen, I first came among you. At that moment I ventured to recommend to you perseverance, patient perseverance; and to express a hope, that, by the mere strain of an unnatural effort, the massive bonds imposed upon the nations of the Continent might, at no distant period, burst asunder. I was heard by you with indulgence; I know not whether with conviction. But is it now to be regretted, that we did not, at that moment, yield to the pressure of our wants, or of our fears? What has been

the issue? The continental system was completed, with the sole exception of Russia, in the year 1812. In that year the pressure upon this country was undoubtedly painful. Had we yielded, the system would have been immortal. We persevered, and, before the conclusion of another year, the system was at an end; at an end, as all schemes of violence naturally terminate, not by a mild and gradual decay, such as waits upon a regular and well-spent life, but by sudden dissolution: at an end, like the breaking up of a winter's frost. 'But yesterday, the whole Continent, like a mighty plain covered with one mass of ice, presented to the view a drear expanse of barren uniformity: to-day, the breath of heaven unbinds the earth; the streams begin to flow again; and the intercourse of human kind revives.

"Can we regret that we did not, like the fainting traveller, lie down to rest—but, indeed, to perish—under the severity of that inclement season? Did we not more wisely, to bear up, and to wait the change?

"Gentlemen, I have said that I should be ashamed, and in truth I should be so, to address you in the language of exultation, if it were merely for the indulgence, however legitimate, of an exuberant and ungovernable joy. But they who have suffered great privations have a claim not merely to consolation, but to something more. They are justly to be compensated for what they have undergone, or lost, or hazarded, by the contemplation of what they have gained.

"We have gained, then, a rank and authority in Europe, such as, for the life of the longest liver of those who now hear me, must place this country upon an eminence which no probable reverses can shake. We have gained, or rather we have recovered, a splendour of military glory, which places us by the side of the greatest

military nations in the world. At the beginning of this war, while there was not a British bosom that did not beat with rapture at the exploits of our navy, there were few who would not have been contented to compromise for that reputation alone; to claim the sea as exclusively our province, and to leave to France and the other continental powers the struggle for superiority by land. That fabled deity, whom I see portrayed upon the wall,* was considered as the exclusive patron of British prowess in battle; but, in seeming accordance with the beautiful fiction of ancient mythology, our Neptune, in the heat of contest, smote the earth with his trident, and up sprang the fiery war-horse, the emblem of military power.

"Let Portugal, now led to the pursuit of her flying conquerors,—let liberated Spain,—let France, invaded in her turn by those whom she had overrun or menaced with invasion, attest the triumphs of the army of Great Britain, and the equality of her military with her naval fame! And let those who, even after the triumphs of the Peninsula had begun, while they admitted that we had indeed wounded the giant in the heel, still deemed the rest of his huge frame invulnerable,—let them now behold him reeling under the blows of united nations, and acknowledge, at once, the might of British arms and the force of British example!

"I do not say, that these are considerations with a view to which the war, if otherwise terminable, ought to have been purposely protracted; but I say, that, upon the retrospect, we have good reason to rejoice, that the war was not closed ingloriously and insecurely, when the latter events of it have been such as have established our security by our glory.

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* A figure of Neptune.

"I say, we have reason to rejoice, that, during the period when the Continent was prostrate before France—that, especially during the period when the continental system was in force, we did not shrink from the struggle; that we did not make peace for present and momentary ease, unmindful of the permanent safety and greatness of this country; that we did not leave unsolved the momentous questions, whether this country could maintain itself against France, unaided and alone; or with the Continent divided; or with the Continent combined against it: whether, when the wrath of the tyrant of the European world was kindled against us with sevenfold fury, we could or could not walk, unharmed and unfettered, through the flames?

"I say, we have reason to rejoice, that, throughout this more than *Punic* war, in which it has so often been the pride of our enemy to represent herself as the Rome, and England as the Carthage, of modern times, (with, at least, this colour for the comparison, that the utter destruction of the modern Carthage has uniformly been proclaimed to be indispensable to the greatness of her rival,)—we have, I say, reason to rejoice, that, unlike our assigned prototype, we have not been diverted by internal dissensions from the vigorous support of a vital struggle; that we have not suffered distress nor clamour to distract our counsels, or to check the exertions of our arms.

"Gentlemen, for twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, I have been an advocate of the war. You knew this when you did me the honour to choose me as your representative. I then told you, that I was the advocate of the war, because I was a lover of peace; but of a peace that should be the fruit of honourable exertion; a peace that should have a character of dignity, a peace

that should be worth preserving, and should be likely to endure. I confess, I was not sanguine enough, at that time, to hope that I should so soon have an opportunity of justifying my professions. But I know not why, six weeks hence, such a peace should not be made as England may not only be glad, but proud to ratify. Not such a peace, gentlemen, as that of Amiens—a short and feverish interval of unrefreshing repose. During that peace, which of you went, or sent a son to Paris, who did not feel or learn, that an Englishman appeared, in France, shorn of the dignity of his country; with the mien of a suppliant, and the conscious prostration of a man who had consented to purchase his gain or his ease by submission? But let a peace be made to-morrow, such as the allies have now the power to dictate, and the meanest of the subjects of this kingdom shall not walk the streets of Paris without being pointed out as the compatriot of Wellington; as one of that nation, whose firmness and perseverance have humbled France and rescued Europe.

"Is there any man, that has a heart in his bosom, who does not find, in the contemplation of this contrast alone, a recompence for the struggles and the sufferings of years?

"But, gentlemen, the doing right is not only the most honourable course of action; it is also the most profitable in its result. At any former period of the war, the independence of almost all the other countries, our allies, would have been to be purchased with sacrifices profusely poured out from the lap of British victory. Not a throne to be re-established, not a province to be evacuated, not a garrison to be withdrawn, but this country would have had to make compensation, out of her conquests, for the concessions obtained from the enemy.

Now, happily, this work is already done, either by our efforts or to our hands. The Peninsula free; the lawful commonwealth of European states already, in a great measure, restored; Great Britain may now appear in the congress of the world, rich in conquests, nobly and rightfully won, with little claim upon her faith or her justice, whatever may be the spontaneous impulse of her generosity or her moderation.

"Such, gentlemen, is the situation and prospect of affairs, at the moment at which I have the honour to address you. That you, gentlemen, may have your full share in the prosperity of your country, is my sincere and earnest wish. The courage with which you bore up in adverse circumstances eminently entitles you to this reward.

"For myself, gentlemen, while I rejoice in your returning prosperity, I rejoice also that our connexion began under auspices so much less favourable; that we had an opportunity of knowing each other's minds, in times when the minds of men are brought to the proof,—times of trial and difficulty. I had the satisfaction of avowing to you, and you the candour and magnanimity to approve, the principles and opinions by which my public conduct has uniformly been guided, at a period when the soundness of those opinions, and the application of those principles, was matter of doubt and controversy. I thought, and I said, at the time of our first meeting, that the cause of England and of civilised Europe must be ultimately triumphant, if we but preserved our spirit untainted and our constancy unshaken. Such an assertion was, at that time, the object of ridicule with many persons: a single year has elapsed, and it is now the voice of the whole world.

"Gentlemen, we may, therefore, confidently indulge

the hope, that our opinions will continue in unison; that our concurrence will be as cordial as it has hitherto been, if, unhappily, any new occasion of difficulty or embarrassment should hereafter arise.

"At the present moment, I am sure, we are equally desirous to bury the recollection of all our differences with others in that general feeling of exultation in which all opinions happily combine."

During Mr. Canning's stay at Liverpool, every attention that admiration could suggest was paid him; and, when he visited the salt works, crowds of the most respectable inhabitants attended him. "On his descending the mine, (said the *Liverpool Journal*,) he was received with three times three; and, when he was firmly landed below, a salute of fifteen blasts were fired, which had more effect than any guns we ever heard. A cold collation was prepared for one hundred persons, of which a select portion of the company partook. The mine was illuminated with about fifteen thousand lights. The band of the Cheshire Legion attended, and played popular airs. Upwards of three hundred persons were present."

These details are not, indeed, important in themselves, but they tend to show the high estimation in which Mr. Canning stood then, when his powers were but half developed.

This period (1814) appears like a blank in the history of our hero, for he was not in the Cabinet; but, be it remembered, that all the glorious success that crowned the campaigns of the past year, all the victories achieved by our forces, were the result of plans and arrangements made, in common with his colleagues, when Mr. Canning *was* in office; and that lord Castlereagh, in announcing to the House the success of our troops, only

announced the fulfilment of the predictions of Mr. Canning. Between the formation of a design, and the completion of its project, there must be a pause. Mr. Canning laid the train, and then quitted office; and those who had no share in the labour of sowing the seeds of glory, reaped the laurels, whilst the real author of the good remained unheeded. The glories of Wellington were the result of that policy that Mr. Canning had so long and so steadily maintained; and to support which, he had endured the obloquy and withstood the reproaches of so many. The result of the measures that Mr. Canning pursued, and which he always considered as a continuation of the policy of Pitt, was, that the Allies, led by us, entered Paris, in April, 1814. A day of triumph to every Englishman, but doubly so to those who felt that their counsels had been the basis of victory.

Mr. Canning was contented with the proud reflection,

> "I have done the state some service,
> And they know it."

With the exception of his manly vindication of the speaker, when that gentleman's speech, on the adjournment of the House, and with reference to the Catholic Bill, was called in question, and his advocating the pressing the Abolition of the Slave Trade being made a part of the Law of Nations, at the time of the allied powers being in treaty at Paris, he scarcely spoke; but the motion for a grant to the duke of Wellington, awakened his energies; and on this subject, and on the blockade of Norway (May), he spoke eloquently; the subject, however, is now almost forgotten. The thanks of the House, voted to the duke of Wellington, on the 28th of June, 1814, were presented to his grace by a committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Canning was one.

In the discussions respecting the *fête* in St. James's Park, the ships on the Serpentine river, &c. Mr. Canning took no part. He is said to have absented himself from the House on the occasion, because it was useless to reprobate acts that could not be recalled, and which, from circumstances, were never likely to be repeated; but he would not give his sanction to what his mind disapproved.

It was settled, at this period, that Mr. Canning should go as ambassador to Lisbon; and he passed the recess with Mr. Huskisson in a tour to the lakes, during which he visited Southey, who had been just appointed poet laureat; from thence he went to Liverpool, to bid farewell to his constituents and friends.

Mr. Canning had £14,000 per annum allowed him on this embassy; £3500 allowed for plate, and a sum nearly equal to it for outfit.

Some discussions on this subject, and a great deal of malignant misrepresentation, appeared in the papers of the period, particularly in *The Morning Chronicle*. It was stated that the duke of Wellington, as ambassador to Paris, received only £10,000; but it was *truly* stated, in reply, that "The ordinary allowance to our ambassadors is £8000 per annum; that, beyond this allowance, extraordinary payments occur, to be made by every minister abroad; that sir Charles Stuart, Mr. Canning's predecessor, expended in this way, in 1812-13, the sum of £26,000 : 7*s*., and, in the years 1813-14, the sum of £19,900 : 5*s* : 6*d*.; whereas, Mr. Canning's allowance was to exclude all further expenses; so that, in fact, he was to receive £6000 per annum less, and not £6000 more than his immediate predecessor.

Mr. Canning took leave of the Prince Regent, and went to Falmouth in the beginning of November.

Parliament met on the 8th, and an attack upon Mr. Canning was made by Mr. Whitbread. Amongst other things, that gentleman said—"There is, certainly, nothing incredible in human life, and it may be still more positively asserted, that there is nothing so in political life; yet, I must confess, after all I have heard, that to me it requires the positive evidence of *The London Gazette*, before I can believe what I have just been told. Nay, even that would scarcely be enough. Had I not seen his Majesty's ship the Leviathan, with the *blue Peter* flying on Friday, to take out the ambassador to Lisbon, I could not have believed it possible that the right honourable gentleman would have been away this day, from a discussion so interesting. I must say, however, that the right honourable gentleman has made the most ample and honourable amends to his former colleagues in office. He has accepted a situation under those who, on a former occasion, he had not deemed fit persons for him to advise with. If I admire the amends which his excellency the ambassador to Portugal has now made, I cannot less admire the selection of the situation which he has chosen, or to which he has been appointed. When I first heard of what was going forward, I thought it was possible that Mr. Canning was going to take the place of lord Castlereagh at the Congress at Vienna; who, it was rumoured in some quarters, was to return to attend business in Parliament. I should have deprecated such an appointment; thinking, as I do, that the right honourable gentleman is disqualified for concerns of difficult diplomacy. He might have been deputed to Ghent, to arrange matters with the commissioners from America; but to that appointment I should also have felt serious objections. But to send the right honourable gentleman where he is now sent, I cannot see

what important services he can render. It may, however, be said, that where he is going he can do no harm; certainly, in this view of it, the appointment is one of the happiest ever made. He cannot have gone out to receive the Prince Regent of Portugal, if it is true that his royal highness does not intend to return to Lisbon for some months hence. Yet the right honourable gentleman, now ambassador at Lisbon, may find out the means of amusing himself there. He can employ his leisure hours in revising the pages of the Anti-Jacobin, or in writing a poem to emulate Camoens; or, as it was said of Buonaparte, and like Mr. Bubb Doddington, in writing memoirs of the great things of his own time."

Mr. Ellis replied to this, by saying—"I happen to know that it had been the determination of Mr. Canning to go to Lisbon, long before there was any question of his taking a public situation. The cause of this determination, was the pressure of a severe domestic affliction; and the idea that the only means of saving the life of a child of his, was to try the benefit of the climate at Lisbon. If, under these circumstances, the House should think that there is no great crime in my right honourable friend determining to go to Lisbon, I do not suppose that they will consider it any great aggravation of the offence, to accept afterwards of a public situation. As to the time of his departure, I am convinced that my right honourable friend has neither hastened or delayed it, from any fear of being attacked in this House. As to my right honourable friend's propriety of conduct in accepting an official situation, that is open to be canvassed, like the acts of every public man."

Mr. Ellis then went into a detail of the expenses of former ambassadors, and stated that Mr. Canning himself objected to having an unlimited sum for extraordi-

naries; and that the limitation was adopted entirely on his suggestion.

Mr. Tierney defended Mr. Whitbread's observations, designated the whole transaction as an "outrageous job," and particularly dwelt on Mr. Canning's accepting an appointment under lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Canning sailed in the Leviathan from Weymouth, on the 11th of November, but put back, and finally left Plymouth on the 21st. It was not, perhaps, untruly suggested, that many attacked Mr. Canning's conduct in his absence, who would have shrunk from doing so, had he been in the House. On the 15th of November, the subject was renewed in the House; and Mr. Tierney again called the appointment an outrageous, and a scandalous and abominable job. The several members who disclaimed personal hostility to Mr. Canning, oddly enough censured the allowance of £14,000 per annum as excessive to him, though they passed over in silence, or nearly so, the grant of £36,000, for a house in Paris, to the duke of Wellington.

Mr. Canning arrived at Lisbon on the 28th of November, and not finding a convenient residence ready for his reception, returned on board the Leviathan, where he remained for some days, till his furniture arrived from England.

Immediately after, or pending his departure, the Scotch newspapers put forth the following statement.

"There is at present confined, as a prisoner, in the Canongate Jail of Edinburgh, upon a writ, at the instance of George Canning, esq., of Bolton Street, Piccadilly, in the county of Middlesex, M. P., (we believe, the member for Petersfield,) a person of the name of William Ogilvie, designating himself earl of Findlater and baron Banff. The debt is constituted by a bond in the English

form, amounting to £3000; the bond is signed Findlater and Banff; it is followed up by a decreet before the Court of Session, as against William earl of Findlater; but the honourable plaintiff has, in the writ of caption, altered the designation to 'William Ogilvie, calling himself earl of Findlater;' and upon that, this *soi-disant* peer of the realm has been committed to prison. Being in a state of great poverty, his lordship of Findlater applied to the magistrates of Canongate, for the benefit of the Scots Act, 1696, commonly called the 'Act of Grace.' This application was strenuously opposed by Mr. Canning, on the ground that the petitioner was an impostor, and that he had no right to the title of Findlater; that he had obtained the money of him under false pretences, &c. In answer to this, it was stated by the noble defendant, that his title to the earldom of Findlater was undoubted; that he had been regularly served heir by a jury, before the sheriff of Banff; that he had been countenanced and written to, as earl, by several persons high in rank, and who had promised him every assistance, with money and otherwise, to procure his title to be recognised by the House of Lords, when, in an evil hour, he became acquainted with the plaintiff, (Mr. Canning,) who besieged him most closely—offered him any sum, even to the amount of £20,000, if he would use his influence to get him returned for a Scottish burgh. That he accordingly received £3000 for this purpose; and his friends, finding he had joined with Mr. Canning, withdrew their countenance and support from him. In consequence of which, he and his family came to poverty—he could not get his title recognised by the House of Lords—and his friend, Mr. Canning, lost his Scottish burgh—and is also minus his £3000, thus lent for electioneering purposes. These are the statements of the parties; of the truth of

which we, of course, know nothing; but the magistrates of Canongate, in consideration of the whole circumstances of the case, and in respect, it is alleged by the petitioner, and not denied by the other party, that he granted a bond for the debt as earl of Findlater, and subscribed the same by that signature, and not as William Ogilvie, designed in the letters of caption, modified an aliment of five shillings per day, to be paid and consigned to him, by the creditor *incarcerator*, and which he is at present receiving from his opponent, Mr. Canning."

It is scarcely necessary to tell the political reader, that, at this period, every thing that could be urged to annoy or vituperate our hero, was resorted to. With regard to the affair thus promulgated on the other side of the Tweed, the facts were explained thus:—Mr. Ogilvie deceived Mr. Canning with his representations; and under some that, if not wilfully false, were notoriously erroneous, obtained the sum in question; and Mr. Canning, considering himself defrauded, determined to punish the criminal, not the debtor. Mr. Canning's life is a sufficient refutation to the accusation of his being a hard-hearted creditor. There is, perhaps, no occurrence more provoking, than to find that your kindness has been played upon by an impostor; when all the world laugh at your folly, instead of estimating your benevolence; and when the derision of the many is added to pecuniary loss. These circumstances justify severity; and the old principle, "that he who cannot pay in purse, must pay in person," if ever recognisable, surely is so in a case like this.

In the April of the year 1815, Mr. Canning was understood to have resigned his appointment of ambassador; and in the March of the following year, he returned to his native country. The health of his son was tempora-

rily benefited, but nothing could remove, though attention might arrest, the fatal disease that consigned him to an early tomb, about five years afterwards.

The early part of the year 1815, though immensely important in a general point of view, contains naught that refers immediately to our hero. His opponents exhausted their wit in accounts of his mode of living, &c. &c. till, finding their attacks elicited no reply, the witlings ceased to scribble, the orators to speak.

The year 1815, and the battle which has made that year particularly memorable, are in the memories of all our readers; the field of Waterloo will not be forgotten by any—it was a conflict in which *chance* only awarded the palm, and in which every man of each country deserved the praise of courage and perseverance—the French to the full equally with their victors.

It will be remembered, that the marquis of Anglesea (then earl of Uxbridge) in the sanguinary conflict, was severely wounded, and afterwards suffered amputation; it is out of place to compliment the noble marquis upon a quality he has always been eminent for—courage; and the circumstance of his loss has been commemorated by the fertile pen of our hero, who produced the following *jeu d'esprit* on the occasion.

"EPITAPH ON THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA'S LEG.

"Here rests—and let no saucy knave
Presume to sneer and laugh,
To learn that mouldering in the grave
Is laid a *British calf!*

"For he who writes these lines is sure
That those who read the whole,
Will find such laugh was premature,
For here, too, lies a *sole.*

"And here five little ones repose,
Twin born with other five,
Unheeded by their brother toes,
Who all are now alive.

"A leg and foot—to speak more plain—
Rest here, of one commanding,
Who though his wits he might retain,
Lost *half his understanding.*

"And when the guns, with thunder fraught,
Pour'd bullets thick as hail,
Could only in this way be taught
To give the foe *leg bail.*

"And now in England, just as gay
As in the battle brave,
Goes to the rout, review, or play,
With one foot in the grave.

"Fortune in vain here show'd her spite,
For he will still be found,
Should England's sons engage in fight,
Resolved to stand his ground.

"But Fortune's pardon I must beg,
She meant not to disarm;
And when she lopp'd the hero's leg,
She did not seek his *h-arm.*

"And but indulged a harmless whim,
Since he could walk with one,
She saw two legs were lost on him
Who never meant to run."

In the early part of 1816, the earl of Buckinghamshire died, and an offer of the presidency of the Board of Control was made to our hero; previous to his acceptation of this appointment, he again stood for Liverpool. On this occasion Mr. Canning took up his residence with his friend Mr. Bolton, in Duke Street, Liverpool.

On the 5th of June, 1816, he thus addressed the electors:—

"Gentlemen,—my first duty, and my first inclination is, to thank you for your kindness,—to thank you for the indulgence which I have received at your hands. And I do assure you, gentlemen, that if there is any thing which I regret on the immediate occasion which brings me at this moment before you, it is, that I am now standing here for the double purpose of soliciting a new favour, as well as of acknowledging those which I have already experienced from you.

"I had much rather that it should have happened, that my first visit to my constituents, after my return to England, should have been purely for the purpose of expressing my gratitude, and with no prospective object whatever.

"It was my intention to have paid that visit for that purpose; and I am not responsible for the circumstance which has added another duty to that which I intended to perform.

"Gentlemen, amongst the motives of regret which belong to my late absence from England, I am happy to feel assured, that I have not to reckon any neglect of your interests, general or individual. It is, indeed, a satisfaction to me to know, that, during my absence, in all that respects your interests, no want of me has been felt; and that, in addition to the zeal and activity of my worthy colleague, there has been, on the part of others of my friends, a constant and undeviating attention to all your concerns.

"Gentlemen, if there are any of my constituents who think that they have, upon any other ground, cause of complaint against me, I may take it for granted, that many hours will not elapse before I hear it; and, when I hear

it, you may rest assured, that I shall be ready to answer it, I trust to their satisfaction.

"Gentlemen, after thanking you, it is my next duty, as I have said, to solicit a renewal of your confidence. I trust I have not forfeited it by receiving a mark of the confidence of the Crown.

"Gentlemen, I can truly and conscientiously declare to you, that that mark of the confidence of the Crown has come to me as much unsought as it must, from obvious circumstances, have been unforeseen.

"Of a life in Parliament, now of more than twenty years' duration, I have passed more than half, and that of my own choice, out of office. I have oftener had occasion to justify my resignation or refusal, than my acceptance of official situation. But, gentlemen, as I have not given up or declined office, except for what I thought just and substantial reasons; so I do not think myself at liberty, as a public man, to decline it, when my services are called for by my sovereign, and when I think I can honourably afford them.

"Gentlemen, I have but one word more to say at this our first meeting. I have accepted the office to which his royal highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to appoint me; but I have not yet performed the customary homage of kissing his royal highness's hand on that acceptance. With his royal highness's permission, I am here among my constituents, before I have stood in his presence.

"Gentlemen, I have no difficulty in confessing, that I not only gratify my feelings, but court an advantage, in the respect which I thus pay to the popular branch of the constitution. I come before you chosen a servant of the Crown. May I not hope, that you will send me back with that choice sanctioned by the people?

"Gentlemen, I will now detain you no longer than while I repeat, what I have already said, that, without anticipating objections from any part of this great community, I shall, no doubt, have abundant opportunities, in the course of the next few days, of hearing all objections which it is possible to devise against me; and you will give me credit, gentlemen, I am sure, that I shall neither omit nor avoid any occasion of replying to them."

The reverend William Shepherd and colonel Williams made some severe attacks upon the conduct of our hero, to which Mr. Canning merely replied, by saying—"I have noted every word that has been said against me: I carry in my mind the whole indictment; and that indictment I will answer, point by point, when I address myself, *after the poll*, to those who have a right to hear my justification. I invite my two accusers to be present; and I assure them, on the faith of my honour, that they shall be received amongst my friends with every personal respect and civility."

Mr. Leyland had been put up in opposition to Mr. Canning, without Mr. Leyland's concurrence; and his friend, Mr. Shepherd, resigned the contest on the first day: some other persons, however, continued it after Mr. Shepherd's declaration, that Mr. Leyland's "cause was hopeless." To this singular circumstance Mr. Canning alluded in his speech at the close of the first day's poll. This speech becomes important, because in it Mr. Canning personally explains what had so long been a subject for cavillers—his Lisbon mission.

"Gentlemen,—Of all the contested elections in which you have been called to bear a part, and, certainly, of all those of which I have ever heard, the circumstances of the present are the most extraordinary. A battle with-

but an antagonist; and a surrender without a cessation of hostilities!

"Gentlemen, in most struggles it has been sufficient for him who came into the field, that he had nobody to oppose him. But this has not been my fortune on the present occasion. Our first victory has been from want of a combatant: our next has been over the unacknowledged representative of the combatant whom our adversaries could not bring forward. And, having defeated the representative, who would not fight, we have now to fight the self-constituted substitutes, who have thrust themselves in the place which he becomingly abandoned.

"Gentlemen, in this fruitless and unnecessary contest, we have, however, obtained a victory that might put to flight the most substantial antagonist. I am assured, that the majority which we possess on this day is unexampled, for a first day's poll, in any contest for Liverpool. We have polled, gentlemen, 250. There have polled for my antagonist—I beg pardon, I should rather say, in spite of my antagonist—159; the result is a majority of 91 in our favour.

"Of the gentleman whose name is thus unwarrantably put forward against his own desire, I beg not to be understood as meaning to speak with the slightest disrespect. Of the gentleman who constituted himself the representative of the nonjuring candidate, I mean Mr. Shepherd, I have to say, that his conduct appears to me to have been, in all that I have seen of it, not only exempt from blame, but entitled to the praise of fairness, honour, and liberality. But who they are that, after the abjuration of the principal, and after the abdication of the substitute, have put themselves in array against the declared sense of all parties, to vex and harass the population of this great town, and who hazard thus, for

no object and to no end, all the results which may arise from the fermentation which they have excited, it behoves me not to conjecture; nor will I characterise their proceedings with the epithet that I think they deserve.

"Gentlemen, I told you, on our first meeting, that I should, no doubt, be catechised sufficiently when I met my antagonists face to face. That meeting has taken place this day; and I informed the gentlemen who, in moving and seconding this fruitless nomination, thought proper to arraign my public conduct, that, if they would do me the honour to accompany me home this evening, they should have whatever advantage they might fancy they could derive from hearing my answers to all that they had alleged against me.

"I do not blame them, gentlemen, if they have not availed themselves of my offer: they must consider the contest at an end; and I am perfectly satisfied, that their attacks were not directed against me with any personal hostility, but were only intended to influence your suffrages.

"Gentlemen, if there were any truth (truth, I mean, in argument) in the grounds which were stated for inducing you to reject me on the present occasion, I will venture to say, that the admission of them would tend to a complete change in the constitution.

"Gentlemen, it was contended, that any man holding office, especially high and responsible office, was unfit, for that very reason, to become the representative of the people. I state the argument, gentlemen, only for the purpose of answering it,—of expressing, though in much feebler language, the just and emphatic refutation which it has received in your unanimous denial.

"Gentlemen, if there be truth in this doctrine of our adversaries, I have read the constitution wrong. For I

have always thought, that it was one great practical security for the continuance of that freedom which we happily enjoy, and of which we should enjoy the name only, if it were not embodied in the political institutions of the country;—I have considered it always, I say, as one great security, that, though there be no written law which circumscribes the choice of the Crown in the selection of its ministers, yet that, since England has been what it is, the sovereign has always looked for his ministers among the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

"Is it possible, gentlemen, that persons of so acute understandings as those who were arrayed against me to-day, should not see, that if a minister ought not to be a member of Parliament, the converse would be equally true, that the Crown ought not to choose a member of Parliament for its minister? And what would be the consequence? That the House of Lords, the hereditary counsellors of the Crown, and hereditary representatives of the great mass of the property of the kingdom; that the House of Commons, containing a selection, through various channels, and for various qualifications, of all that is most distinguished in talents, in property, and consideration, among the commons of the country; that these two bodies of men, necessarily, from their constitution, the flower of the kingdom, should be absolutely excluded from the management of the affairs of the state; and that the Crown should be driven to look for its servants among those who could not obtain, or among those who had declined, the representation of the people!

"I take for granted, gentlemen, that I do no injustice to the argument of my adversaries, when I assume, that it is meant to exclude members of the House of Peers,

equally with those of the other House of Parliament, from office. If, indeed, they intend a distinction between the two Houses, and would confine the offices of state to peers, pleasant candidates, to be sure, they are for popular favour, and nice adjusters of the balance of the constitution!

"But there is another view which these gentlemen take of office,—as if it were something in itself dishonourable, something which did not imply or convey distinction, but absolute degradation and contamination. When they have said that a man holds office, or, still more, when, straining their faculties for ridicule and invective to the utmost pitch, they insinuate that he seeks it, they think that they have said all: the blow is struck, the work is done. Be it so. But let us see how far these gentlemen are consistent in their revilement of office. Is there no occasion on which they speak of it in another strain, and represent it in another light? Can they be the same persons whom you may have heard, on former occasions, declaiming against those laws by which a proportion of our fellow-subjects are excluded from office? They think, and, though I differ from many of you, gentlemen, in this opinion, I think with them, that these disqualifications should be removed. I have done my best to procure the removal of them. In this *I* am consistent. *I* think ineligibility to office a grievance, because I think office an honourable occupation. But what is the creed of our adversaries? They ought, in consistency, to consider such ineligibility as a privilege, rather than as a privation. Is it tyranny to save a man from the danger of being degraded? Is it any thing but a wise and salutary restraint, to fence him round against the chance of contamination?

"But, gentlemen, I rest my appeal to you both upon

the theory and practice of the constitution. I do not come before you an apologist for having accepted office. When tendered to me on the part of my sovereign, it was my duty to accept it; unless I could assign sufficient public reasons for declining it, or felt, in my own mind, insuperable difficulties in acceptance. The country has, I conceive, a claim on the services of every man, according to the measure of his abilities. Of that measure he is not himself the proper judge; and the call of the sovereign is paramount, where there is no justifiable motive for a refusal.

"Gentlemen, whatever difficulties I may have felt on former occasions, when (for instance) at our first meeting I told you that I had twice declined office in the course of that year, public reasons I have none for declining office now; and motives of personal feeling, if then I had any, have long been wholly at an end.

"Gentlemen, the next material charge against me, and it behoves me to meet it fairly, is on the score of my absence from you for the last eighteen months, and the situation which I held, during a part of that interval, at Lisbon.

"With respect to the cause of my departure, and of my solicitation to my friends here, to accept my resignation, and supply my place, if they could not, consistently with the interests of the town, indulge me in a temporary absence, you are all apprised of the facts; and I have to thank you all for your indulgence. I know, gentlemen, that you believe me when I say, upon my honour, that my departure from England originated not, in the slightest degree, in any view to the appointment, which, indeed, was incidentally cast upon me, after my private arrangements had been made. The moment that I learnt the Prince Regent of Portugal's determi-

nation not to return last year to his European dominions, I resigned. It is false, gentlemen, as (I am told) is asserted, that I continued in a public capacity to the period of my leaving Lisbon. Of the seventeen months, or thereabouts, which I passed in Portugal, the last six months I was as private an individual as any among you; and it was no fault of mine that I was not much sooner superseded: it was in the month of April last year, that I sent in my resignation. I remained there, according to my original intention, invested with no public character, discharging no public duty, and receiving, in consequence, no public pay. Nor can I imagine how the mistake (if mistake be the true name) could have arisen, as to my continuing in a public character, unless it were that, being settled in Lisbon, I did continue, long after the expiration of my public character, to receive such of my countrymen as happened to come recommended to me, with such civility as the means of a private individual could allow.

"Gentlemen, I am not aware that there have been any other objections urged against me, which are not comprised, in substance, under one or other of these two heads,—the question of office, as it is now held by me; and the question of the office which I held at Lisbon.

"The question which *you* have to decide is, whether you will now countenance a doctrine hitherto unknown to the constitution of this country,—the doctrine, that a man cannot serve at once the people and the Crown. We have always held, (meaning by *we*, those who hold the principles which first brought you and me together) —*we* have always held, that the Crown, firmly upheld, and in the exercise of its legitimate, but restricted power, is the best safeguard for the liberties of the people; and that the lawful rights and just freedom of the

people are the best foundations of the stability of the throne.

"Whenever the opinions which have been brought forward to-day shall be adopted as the rule of your conduct, undoubtedly you and I must part. I need not say how much it is my wish to perpetuate our connexion. I trust it may coexist with the devotion of my services, whenever they are thought useful, to my country."

The riots that occurred on the second and third days of this election, knew no parallel in Liverpool, yet still the alleged candidate, Mr. Leyland, did not come forward. Mr. Leyland, a magistrate, and a man of immense fortune, it was said, would not take his seat, if elected; and Mr. Canning called upon him to make a conclusive declaration to that effect. Mr. Leyland did so, and attended in his magisterial capacity to preserve tranquillity, yet still *did the contest continue*—a thing wholly unprecedented in the annals of elections. On the fifth day (12th of June) this disgraceful and unreal contest closed. The invisible party, or "the phantom gang," as they were called, resorted to every sort of abuse, to lessen Mr. Canning in the opinion of his constituents; and one fellow designated our hero as "an adventurer—a fellow whose father nobody knew, and whose mother every body knew;" a vulgar falsehood, that has not even the boast of originality of thought;* to this Mr. Canning alluded in his speech after being chaired that day.

"Gentlemen, if I could forget all the trouble and inconvenience which have been occasioned to you, and could contemplate the result of this day only as it affects myself, what reason should I not have to pour forth my

* Otway has the following lines:—

"His mother was as notorious as his father was obscure—
Every body knew her, no one could guess at him."

gratitude to those men who have laboured against me with so vexatious an opposition! For, with whatever spirit and design they may have acted, I will venture to affirm, that never did the most anxious and active friendship procure for any individual such a triumph as their hostility has earned for me this day. They laboured to separate us from each other; and they have united us more closely than before. They hoped to efface the memory of that victory which crowned your former exertions in my favour; and they have, if not effaced, yet thrown it into the shade, by the transcendent splendour of this day's triumph,—by the increased and overpowering demonstrations of your unwearied kindness and regard. Indebted to my opponents for the excitement which has called forth these demonstrations, what a heart must I have, gentlemen, if I did not bless their *beneficent* enmity!

"But, gentlemen, proud as I naturally must be of what I have experienced this day, and exalted as I cannot but feel myself by the contemplation of the magnificent scene which is now before me,—by the view of those countless multitudes, among which every eye is turned upon me with an expression of benignity; yet I do assure you, gentlemen, and there are those around me who can vouch for the truth of what I say, that I was most anxious—that it was my fixed purpose and determination, to entreat you to spare yourselves the trouble of this day's ceremony. I did not think, that the occasion of returning your representative, on a re-election, called for any peculiar expression of triumph; nor did I think, that a victory over a non-existing, or non-appearing, adversary, justified the same marks of exultation as when able, substantial antagonists had been driven from the field.

"But, gentlemen, my mind was changed, and I yielded to the wishes of my friends, upon information which I have received to-day. The nature of that information I will state to you. I am assured from London, and upon testimony from which it is impossible for me to withhold my belief, that there were among our antagonists some who reckoned upon intimidation as an instrument of success. In the first moments of transport, at the promising commencement of the riots, they communicated this hope to their friends in the metropolis. They fondly flattered themselves that you, gentlemen, could be scared from my side, and that I should be forced to retire. Intimidation! how little do they know either me or you! After this information, I felt that it would be a false delicacy to abstain from any expressions of exultation, and that our conduct might be liable to misconstruction, if we abridged, by a single formality, the triumph of this day.

"Gentlemen, with the election, let the local topics, the local disagreements of the election cease. But cease not with the election the principles upon which your choice has been founded, on whomever, at any time hereafter, your choice may fall, whether on myself, or on a worthier object. For, gentlemen, I know how little I ought to consider myself as contributing to the glorious result of this contest. Much less important is it to whom, individually, you commit your representation in Parliament, than that you should fix steadily in your minds the standard by which that representative shall be tried. Let him be a man true to the principles of the constitution, not as understood in the new-fangled doctrines of the day, but as transmitted to us from older times, before the pure current of British freedom had been contaminated by the influx of foreign theories.

"Gentlemen, we all know, that, on the former occa-

sion, in 1812, the eyes of England were, in a great measure, fixed upon Liverpool, as the *arena* in which the contest between two sets of political principles was to be decided. But on that occasion, gentlemen, though you occupied a great space in the public attention, you could not completely monopolize it. There was then a general election. The interest excited, indeed, by the Liverpool contest was pretty widely diffused, but the actual warfare was among ourselves; no stranger had leisure to mingle in our battle. Among other consequences of this state of things, one was, that we were tolerably free from imported calumny; and that, considering the vehemence of the contest, there was, so far as I know, little of personal malignity mixed with it. In the present instance, Liverpool alone has fixed the undistracted attention of both parties, and upon me, in particular, have the full phials of whiggish wrath been discharged.

"Standing thus exposed, I have had what some would call the misfortune, but what I must now esteem the singular happiness, of being a mark for the attacks of every political enemy that I have in the world. I do Liverpool the justice to acknowledge, gentlemen, that the grossest and foulest calumnies are not of native produce, but have been rolled down, in one tide of filth, from the fountain-head of whiggish detraction in London. All the approved practices of the libellers of former periods have been resorted to: my private history ransacked for topics of abuse; every action, every inconsiderate word, of earlier life raked up, and recorded with malignant industry; and invention called in aid where research could find no theme of invective:—

———"'The lie, so oft o'erthrown,
'Th' imputed trash and nonsense, not my own;'

—all, all has been exhausted: and what is the result? That here I stand.

"Gentlemen, amongst other charges, one of fair hostility, but whimsically chosen, considering the quarter from which it comes, is, that of my being about to act in public life with men from whom I have occasionally differed in opinion. Gentlemen, the charge is substantially unfounded. It is unfounded, because, though, on particular questions, I may have differed from many of my present colleagues, (as what two men may not occasionally differ, if each has an opinion of his own?) yet, upon all the great outlines of our political system, and upon every main principle affecting the foreign policy of England, our opinions have generally concurred. Those opinions I have, to the best of my power, supported, in whatever hands the government of the country has been placed. I have supported them not less strenuously when myself out of office, than when I formed a part of the administration."

Here a temporary interruption ensued, and Mr. Canning retired; but being again called for, he resumed as follows:

"By the organ of what party is it that I am accused of inconsistency, for acting with men from whom I may have occasionally differed? Why, gentlemen, by the organ of a party whose birth and growth, whose essence and element, are coalition; a party which sprung from the coalition between lord North and Mr. Fox, and which has been revived, within all our memories, by the coalition between lord Grenville and lord Grey; a party of which, in spite of all its coalitions, the members are, in reality, so little *coalescent*, that, but last year, on the greatest question which ever the government of this country was called upon to decide, and its Parliament to sanction,—on the question of the renewal of the war

against Buonaparte,—they were divided half and half: and all that was of most weight or ornament in their party, fought the battle of the ministers against the remainder. That remainder, indeed, true to their old creed, would have extended the doctrine of coalition to Buonaparte. But you, gentlemen, I know, have candour enough to do justice to public men, of whatever party, when they stand up fairly for their country; and you remember, with just acknowledgment, that the manly and consistent eloquence of lord Grenville, the splendid enthusiasm of Grattan, and the commanding energy of Plunkett, were exerted, on that memorable occasion, in defence of that system of measures, by which, in defiance of the Whig policy, this country and Europe have been preserved.

"Gentlemen, there is yet a heavier charge than either of those which I have stated to you. It is, gentlemen, that I am an adventurer. To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of the people; and I present myself to those who choose me only with the claims of character, (be they what they may,) unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. Nor is it in this free country, where, in every walk of life, the road of honourable success is open to every individual,—I am sure it is not in this place, that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed, which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign and to influence the people; and that this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the Crown.

"To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly upon the people, as their representative in Parliament; if, as a servant of the Crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence,—if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the charge, and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations.

"Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I have said, that I will not go back to any of the events of the election. Suffice it, that, whatever may be my opinion with respect to the opposition which has been made to your wishes in my favour, I can truly say for myself, that I carry no resentments away with me. Even were I disposed to entertain any such feelings, my heart would not, at this moment, have room for them, so full is it of the sense of your kindnesses, of acknowledgment, and of exultation."

In the July of this year expired Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His faults, his follies, have met frequent mention; and the pen of our greatest poet has memorialised his virtues. Men of all parties joined to pay the last melancholy token of respect to genius. He was borne to the grave, on the 13th July, 1816, by the duke of Bedford, the lord bishop of London, the earls of Lauderdale and Mulgrave, and lords Holland and Spencer. Amongst the mourners were, their royal highnesses the dukes of York and Sussex, the duke of Argyle; the marquisses of Anglesea, Douglas, and Tavistock; the earls of Thanet, Jersey, Harrington, Besborough, Mexborough, Rosslyn, and Yarmouth; lords George Cavendish and Robert Spencer; viscounts Sidmouth, Granville, Petersham, and Duncannon; lords

Rivers, Erskine, and Lyndock; the right honourable George Canning, and a long list of the members of the Lower House. The procession (foot) was so numerous, that, when the bier reached the Abbey, the last of the mournful train had scarcely left George Street, from the house of Mr. P. Moore, in which the ceremony commenced. It was with a sorrow not loud but deep that our hero followed, to the grave, the first political character he had ever known—a man, for whose matchless talents and *public* principles he ever entertained the highest admiration, however he might differ with him in policy, or pity the miserable weakness that his *private* character betrayed.

This year was marked by many public disturbances—by the discovery of the blood-money schemes, and the conviction of those abandoned wretches, Brock, Pelham, Power, &c.; and by the bombardment of Algiers. The close of the year was attended by that dreadful riot, for which a poor ignorant and innocent seaman (Cashman) suffered. Innocent, because he knew not what he did; and because he became the victim of another's guilt. At this period, too, public meetings took place all over the kingdom, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform; to be present at one of which, the celebrated Curran came from Ireland.

The opening of Parliament, on 28th January, 1817, was attended by a disgraceful riot. The carriage of the Prince Regent was assailed—stones hurled at it—and the royal person endangered. For this offence, several persons were committed. A proclamation was issued, offering £1000 reward, on conviction of the offenders.

The general cry of retrenchment and reform made the duty of a minister doubly perplexing; whilst the bold though impotent attempts of Hunt, Cobbett, and, more

particularly, of Preston, Watson, Evans, &c. harassed, though they did not alarm. Mr. Canning was one of the Cabinet Ministers employed in this investigation, which, from the character of the parties accused, bore some resemblance to a discovery made by Mr. Canning in the early part of his career, and already detailed. A committee to inquire into the state and conduct of the police of the metropolis was formed this year, which closed its disastrous annals with the death of the princess Charlotte, an event which carried the sensation of individual loss and private calamity into every bosom.

On the trial of Hone for his scriptural parodies (18th of December, 1817) the defendant endeavoured to exculpate himself by quoting the example of others; and named Mr. Canning, and referred to passages in New Morality, from

"Last of the anointed five and least,"

down to

"In puffing, and in spouting, praise Lepaux;"

as being parodies of part of the book of Job, and of the 148th Psalm. Mr. Hone stated, that he had intended to subpœna Mr. Canning as a witness, but had abstained, with regard to his feelings. "It is plain," continued Mr. Hone, "that Mr. Canning's motive was the same as my own—it was political: and it proves that the ridicule which the author of the parodies attempted to excite, was not *always* intended to fix on the subject parodied." The jury felt the force of this, as well as his other appeals, and acquitted him.

On the 10th of June, 1818, Parliament was dissolved; and the next day, the right honourable John Hiley Addington, brother to viscount Sidmouth, and so often alluded to in our hero's satires, expired.

At the general election, Mr. Canning again stood forward as a candidate for Liverpool, at the requisition of 589 of his former electors. The phantom party got up a requisition to Mr. Leyland, but he declined the invitation. The earl of Sefton was then applied to, and his lordship and general Gascoyne appeared as candidates.

From Mr. Canning's speech on the first day of polling, (18th of June,) the following extract may prove sufficient.

"It is not absolutely nothing, that we are favoured as we are by the beauty of this day, which enables the immense multitude which I see around me to be assembled without inconvenience, and that we bear in recollection what day this is—the anniversary of the greatest victory that ever crowned the British arms.* Gentlemen, all these auspicious circumstances, undoubtedly, are not peculiar to ourselves: the same sun which brightens the scene before me, shines with impartial light upon our opponents. But there are points upon which those who hold the political opinions which we concur in holding have feelings more peculiarly their own; because we know, to our sorrow, and, as Britons, to our shame, that there are breasts (let me not be supposed to indicate any persons among yourselves) in which the recollection of the day, of which this is the third anniversary, excites no such triumphant sensations as it excites in your breasts and in mine;—there are those to whom the recollection of that mighty victory, in which the right arm of Great Britain struck down the most stupendous tyranny that ever bestrode the world, affords matter rather of regret and lamentation, than of unqualified exultation and national pride.

* The battle of Waterloo, fought on the 18th of June, 1815.

"But, gentlemen, peace has its triumphs as well as war. If the memory of that battle, which rescued Europe, and, in rescuing Europe, saved this country from the common lot with which, sooner or later, it might otherwise have been overwhelmed, is to be cherished in our hearts with everlasting and grateful remembrance, it is not merely because it exalted to the highest pitch the military character of this country;—it is not merely because it may be supposed to have shielded us from the evils of a renewed and long-protracted conflict;—not because it preserved our shores from invasion—(for when could these happy shores have seriously to dread being trampled by the foot of the invader?)—not merely that it maintained to Great Britain the rank which she had always vindicated to herself among the nations of the world;—but because, through all these means, it contributed to the maintenance of that constitution from which all our blessings and all our strength, all our power to achieve, and all our right to enjoy, are derived: and that constitution, we have but too much reason to be aware, has, even when the dangers of external attack are past, internal enemies to combat.

"The triumphs of peace, therefore, are wanting to give full vigour and maturity to the best fruits of the achievements of war. And, amongst those triumphs, I know none more splendid, more imposing, more effectual, than the peaceful triumph of a popular election, conducted on principles such as yours; principles which are directed not to the extravagant exaltation of the democratical part of the constitution at the expense of the other branches of it, but to the due support of the whole of that beautiful and complex frame, of which popular election is, indeed, the animating and conservative spirit."

On the third day, it having been found that the freemen could not be polled with rapidity, another bar was opened, and Arthur Heywood, esq., stood nominal candidate on behalf of lord Sefton. Mr. Canning met this, by opening a bar, in the name of Mr. Bolton, for his party; and he spoke thus on the subject, from the hustings:—

"Gentlemen, I mentioned to you yesterday the insinuations respecting a coalition. I avowed to you, that I wished well to general Gascoyne; but I told you, at the same time, what is correctly true, that no coalition of interest had taken place, and even no understanding between his friends and mine. But, gentlemen, in giving this negative to an assertion which is untrue, I beg not to be understood as implying, that, if that assertion had been well-founded,—if, holding the same public principles, general Gascoyne's friends and mine had determined to follow the same course,—there would have been any thing to be ashamed of, in such a concurrence and co-operation. I denied the assertion, because it was not founded in fact; and because I suspected it to be made for the sake of drawing from it an inference, not unfavourable to my politics or to general Gascoyne's, but disparaging to you, and insulting to the independence of the freemen.

"What I then suspected is now more obvious. The imputation of a coalition was evidently contrived, first, with a retrospective policy, to justify that memorable coalition of 1812, which you then called me in to defeat, and which, in your hands, I was the instrument of defeating; and, at the same time, to justify, prospectively, if the state of the poll should require it, a coalition of another sort—the bringing forward an empty bar to *split* votes (as the election phrase is) for the earl of Sefton.

"Gentlemen, it was to lay the ground for this measure that the cry of coalition was raised; and, though the denial which was given to that cry was such as, in my conscience, I believe, must have convinced those who were most busy in propagating it, that it was wholly without foundation; yet, having, by persevering assertion, attempted to convince others, if not themselves, of the truth of it, a pretence has been deduced from it this morning for opening another bar for your antagonists, for the purpose of magnifying their poll. I do not complain of this as an unfair stroke of policy. They have a right to take their own course. But the right which they exercise themselves they cannot complain of seeing, in turn, exercised by others. In compensation, therefore, for the untenanted bar of Mr. Heywood, your worthy fellow-townsman, my respected host, has had the goodness to allow his honourable name to be used, for the purpose of advancing my poll in a like proportion. He is contented to be, for this purpose and in this sense, the *shadow* of a candidate: well deserving, as you know him to be, if he were alive to such ambition, of the substantial suffrages of those fellow-townsmen whose esteem and affection he enjoys.

"Gentlemen, in elections, trick must be met by trick, and management by management. We, gentlemen,—my friends as well as myself,—were ready to go on quietly in our own path, separate and unconnected, leaving to the freemen of Liverpool to decide between the three candidates for their favour. But, when a fourth name is started, for no purpose but that of an apparent and fallacious multiplication and subdivision of votes;—(as if it were imagined, that a vote is like a polypus, which, cut in two, shoots out a head or a tail, and so doubles itself on each division;)—we have thought ourselves at

liberty to adopt the same ingenious experiment. And, if success be a legitimate test of an experiment, we have, certainly, no reason to be dissatisfied with the suggestion which we have thus borrowed from our opponents."

Immediately after the nomination of Mr. Bolton, colonel Williams appeared for lord Sefton; and nine bars were opened, and subsequently twenty-one. These extraordinary circumstances are explained, and well commented on, with their result, in Mr. Canning's humorous speech on the fourth day.

"Gentlemen, if I have been longer than usual this evening in reaching the place from which I am to address you, you are to attribute it to the accident of my being, according to an arrangement agreed to by all the candidates, the last to leave the hustings this day. And, under these circumstances, you will be rather surprised that I am not later still, when I tell you, that the number of candidates for the honour of representing you in Parliament has been, in the course of this day, not less than *twenty-one!*

"Gentlemen, you have all read, no doubt, the letters of lord Chesterfield. It is upon the authority of that polite writer, I think, that it has been laid down as a maxim, that, for the perfect enjoyment of social comfort, a company ought not to be less numerous than the Graces, nor more numerous than the Muses. Gentlemen, your candidates, when we set out, were equal in number to the Graces only; and, so long as that analogy was preserved, we went on most courteously together. On Saturday that analogy was abandoned by the addition of two candidates. Disorder immediately ensued: but we had no sooner reached the hustings this morning, than an attempt was made to repair it, by raising our number to nine. Bars were actually opened for candidates equal in

number to the Muses; but not, that I could see, with any increase of harmony from that association.

"Gentlemen, having tried that mystical number for one round, (just time enough to induce lord Sefton's friends to inscribe 'HARMONY AND SEFTON' on their flag,) it was found, that the Muses were anything but a security for harmony. The harmony which followed the adoption of their number was, indeed, of that species for which certain concerts (called, I know not how justly, after our neighbours the Dutch) are celebrated, where every man is said to play his own tune upon his own instrument!

"Unluckily, the effort to escape from this confusion was not so well considered as it was, no doubt, well intended. By adding to the number nine, nine more, and three more to that, till, by regular progression, we rose to the number that I have stated, twenty-one,—I cannot help thinking, that we rather augmented than diminished the complication of our affairs.

"The list, however, of twenty-one, which I hold in my hand, but which the excessive state of pressure in which I see you prevents me from reading to you, contains many names of individuals which you would hear with kindness and respect.—[*Cries of 'Read, read!'*] But, then, gentlemen, there are others of a different description.—[*Cries of 'Read, read!'*] No, gentlemen. The concert which I have described is, happily, terminated; and, as many of the performers were advertised without their own consent, and were never persuaded to take a vocal part in it, I should do unfairly in bringing their names before you for criticism and comparison.

"But, gentlemen, I say, seriously and sincerely, it was a great satisfaction to me to find, that, in case of real necessity, there were so many men in this town, of the

principles which you approve, who could have been brought forward to put down any combination against your interests and freedom. Among these names, as I told you on Saturday, my respected host (who now stands near me) was one; and, as I then announced to you this fact, and the motive of his allowing himself to be put in nomination, I owe it to him to say, that, that motive having ceased, he has lost no time in relinquishing his short trial of public life; and, giving up all claim to your suffrages, has gladly withdrawn again into that privacy which he loves, and which, you all know, he adorns.

"Gentlemen, I was for some time at a loss to conceive what could possibly have put it into the head of that venerable magistrate, colonel Williams, (for he it was who started this extraordinary arithmetical progression today, by presenting himself as a candidate;)—I was at a loss, I say, to conceive, what could have suggested it to his imagination, that, amongst all the things that were wanting in this contest, and on his own side, candidates were the materials in which they were most deficient! From all I had before heard, I had reason to suppose, that of candidates they had enough, and that voters were principally wanting. But, it seems, it was reserved for this sagacious politician not only to discover where the want really pinched, but who was the fittest person to supply it. My difficulty, however, was, in a great measure, solved, when I recollected the worthy colonel's passion for Parliamentary Reform. The fashions of London travel down to the country, and are sometimes mistaken and disfigured in rural imitation. I am persuaded, that, something in this way, colonel Williams, having learned, from major Cartwright, that *universal suffrage* was the one thing necessary in politics, has only made a small mistake in the application of that doctrine,

and has conceived the major to intend, not that every man should vote, but that every man should be a candidate! Under such a conception, (however misapprehended,) nothing could be more praiseworthy than colonel Williams's tender of his services. Of this plan of reform it may, at least, be said, that, as it is the newest, so it is the most simple and most innocent that colonel Williams could possibly pursue.

"The expedient, however, having been tried, we have all, by common consent, grown weary of it; and, after having indulged a little of that ill-humour which will break out in the best regulated controversies, we have found, happily not too late, that we had better return towards the point from which we set out. We have so returned; not, indeed, precisely to the original number of the Graces, but to that number with the ornamental addition only of Mr. Heywood, as a sort of master of ceremonies. You have now again three real candidates offering themselves to your choice; and Mr. Heywood is so good as to stand by to see fair play."

On the eighth day our hero was elected.

Mr. Canning dined with his friends at the Music Hall, on the 29th of June, when he addressed them at great length. The following extract, however, as containing his most important observations, may satisfy the reader.

"Gentlemen, it does seem somewhat singular, and I conceive that the historian of future times will be at a loss to imagine how it should happen,—that, at this particular period, at the close of a war of such unexampled brilliancy, in which this country has acted a part so much beyond its physical strength and its apparent resources; —there should arise a sect of philosophers in this country, who begin to suspect something rotten in the British constitution. The history of Europe, for the last twenty-

five years, is something like this:—A power went forth, animated with the spirit of evil, to overturn every community of the civilised world. Before this dreadful assailant, empires, and monarchies, and republics bowed: some were crushed to the earth, and some bought their safety by compromise. In the midst of this wide-spread ruin, among tottering columns and falling edifices, one fabric alone stood erect and braved the storm; and not only provided for its own internal security, but sent forth, at every portal, assistance to its weaker neighbours. On this edifice floated that ensign, [*pointing to the English ensign*,] a signal of rallying to the combatant, and of shelter to the fallen.

"To an impartial observer—I will not say to an inhabitant of this little fortress—to an impartial observer, in whatever part of the world, one should think something of this sort would have occurred:—Here is a fabric constructed upon some principles not common to others in its neighbourhood; principles which enable it to stand erect while every thing is prostrate around it. In the construction of this fabric there must be some curious felicity, which the eye of the philosopher would be well employed in investigating, and which its neighbours may profit by adopting. This, I say, gentlemen, would have been an obvious inference. But what shall we think of their understandings who draw an inference directly the reverse? and who say to us—'You have stood when others have fallen; when others have crouched, you have borne yourselves aloft: you alone have resisted the power which has shaken and swallowed up half the civilised world. We like not this suspicious peculiarity. There must be something wrong in your internal conformation.' With this unhappy curiosity, and in the spirit of this perverse analysis, they proceed to dissect

our constitution. They find that, like other states, we have a monarch: that a nobility, though not organized like ours, is common to all the great empires of Europe: but that our distinction lies in a popular assembly, which gives life, and vigour, and strength to the whole frame of the government. Here, therefore, they find the seat of our disease. Our peccant part is, undoubtedly, the House of Commons. Hence our presumptuous exemption from what was the common lot of all our neighbours: the anomaly ought forthwith to be corrected; and, therefore, the House of Commons must be reformed.

"Gentlemen, it cannot but have struck you as somewhat extraordinary, that whereas, in speaking of foreign sovereigns, our reformers are never very sparing of uncourtly epithets; that whereas, in discussing the general principles of government, they seldom omit an opportunity of discrediting and deriding the privileged orders of society; yet, when they come to discuss the British constitution, nothing can be more respectful than their language towards the Crown; nothing more forbearing than their treatment of the aristocracy. With the House of Commons alone they take the freedom of familiarity; upon it they pour out all the vials of their wrath, and exhaust their denunciations of amendment.

"Gentlemen, this, though extraordinary, is not unintelligible. The reformers are wise in their generation. They know well enough,—and have read plainly enough in our own history,—that the prerogatives of the Crown and the privileges of the peerage would be but as dust in the balance against a preponderating democracy. They mean democracy, and nothing else. And, give them but a House of Commons constructed on their own principles,—the peerage and the throne may exist for a day,

but may be swept from the face of the earth by the first angry vote of such a House of Commons.

"It is, therefore, utterly unnecessary for the reformers to declare hostility to the Crown; it is, therefore, utterly superfluous for them to make war against the peerage. They know that, let but their principles have full play, the Crown and the peerage would be to the constitution which they assail, but as the baggage to the army,—and the destruction of them but as the gleanings of the battle. They know that the battle is with the House of Commons, as at present constituted; —and that, *that* once overthrown, and another popular assembly constructed on their principle,—as the creature and depository of the people's power, and the unreasoning instrument of the people's will,—there would not only be no chance, but (I will go further for them in avowal, though not in intention, than they go for themselves) there would not be a pretence for the existence of any other branch of the constitution.

"Gentlemen, the whole fallacy lies in this: the reformers reason from false premises, and, therefore, are driving on their unhappy adherents to false and dangerous conclusions. The constitution of this country is A MONARCHY, controlled by two assemblies: the one hereditary, and independent alike of the Crown and the people: the other elected by and for the people, but elected for the purpose of controlling and not of administering the government. The error of the reformers, if error it can be called, is, that they argue as if the constitution of this country was a broad and level democracy, inlaid (for ornament sake) with a peerage, and topped (by sufferance) with a crown.

"If they say, that, for such a constitution, that is, in effect, for an uncontrolled democracy, the present House

of Commons is not sufficiently popular, they are right; but such a constitution is not what we have, or what we desire. We are born under a monarchy, which it is our duty, as much as it is for our happiness, to preserve; and which there cannot be a shadow of doubt that the reforms which are recommended to us would destroy.

"I love the monarchy, gentlemen, because, limited and controlled as it is in our happy constitution, I believe it to be not only the safest depository of power, but the surest guardian of liberty. I love the system of popular representation, gentlemen:—who can have more cause to value it highly than I feel at this moment—reflecting on the triumphs which it has earned for me, and addressing those who have been the means of achieving them? But of popular representation, I think, we have enough for every purpose of jealous, steady, corrective, efficient control over the acts of that monarchical power, which, for the safety and for the peace of the community, is lodged in one sacred family, and descendible from sire to son.

"If any man tell me, that the popular principle in the House of Commons is not strong enough for effective control, nor diffused enough to ensure sympathy with the people, I appeal to the whole course of the transactions of the last war;—I desire to have cited to me the instances in which the House of Commons has failed, either to express the matured and settled opinion of the nation, or to convey it to the Crown. But I warn those who may undertake to make the citation, that they do not (as, in fact, they almost always do) substitute their own for the national opinion, and then complain of its having been imperfectly echoed in the House of Commons.

"If, on the other hand, it be only meant to say, that the House of Commons is not the *whole government* of

the country,—which, if all power be not only *for* but *in* the people, the House of Commons ought to be, if the people were adequately represented,—I answer, thank God it is not so!—God forbid it should ever aim at becoming so!

"But they look far short of the ultimate effect of the doctrines of the present day, who do not see that their tendency is not to make a House of Commons such as, in theory, it has always been defined—a third branch of the legislature; but to absorb the legislative and executive powers into one; to create an immediate delegation of the whole authority of the people—to which, practically, nothing could, and, in reasoning, nothing ought to stand in opposition.

"Gentlemen, it would be well if these doctrines were the ebullitions of the moment, and ended with the occasions which naturally give them their freest play; I mean, with the season of popular elections. But, unfortunately, disseminated as they are among all ranks of the community, they are doing permanent and incalculable mischief. How lamentably is experience lost on mankind! for when—in what age, in what country of the world—have doctrines of this sort been reduced to practice, without leading, through anarchy, to military despotism? The revolution of the seasons is not more certain than is this connexion of events in the course of moral nature.

"Gentlemen, to theories like these you will do me the justice to remember that I have always opposed myself; not more since I have had the honour to represent this community, than when I was uncertain how far my opinions on such subjects might coincide with yours.

"For opposing these theories, gentlemen, I have become an object of peculiar obloquy: but I have borne that obloquy with the consciousness of having discharged

my duty;—and with the consolation, that the time was not far distant when I should come here among you, (to whom alone I owe an account of my public conduct,)—when I should have an opportunity of hearing from you, whether I had (as I flattered myself) spoken the sense of the second commercial community in England; and when, if—unfortunately and contrary to my belief—I had separated myself in opinion from you, I should learn the grounds of that separation.

"Gentlemen, my object, in political life, has always been, rather to reconcile the nation to the lot which has fallen to them, (surely, a most glorious and blessed lot among nations!) than to aggravate incurable imperfections, and to point out imaginary and unattainable excellences for their admiration. I have done so, because, though I am aware that more splendidly popular systems of government might be devised than that which it is our happiness to enjoy, it is, I believe in my conscience, impossible to devise one, in which all the good qualities of human nature should be brought more beneficially into action,—in which there should be as much order and as much liberty,—in which property (the conservative principle of society) should operate so fairly, with a just but not an overwhelming weight,—in which industry should be so sure of its reward, talents of their due ascendancy, and virtue of the general esteem.

"The theories of preternatural purity are founded on a notion of doing away with all these accustomed relations,—of breaking all the ties by which society is held together. Property is to have no influence—talents no respect—virtue no honour, among their neighbourhood. Naked, abstract political rights are to be set up against the authorities of nature and of reason: and the result of suffrages, thus freed from all the ordinary influences

which have operated upon mankind from the beginning of the world, is to be—the erection of some untried system of politics, of which it may be sufficient to say, that it could not last a day,—that, if it rose with the mists of the morning, it would dissolve in the noontide sun.

"Gentlemen, one ill consequence of these brilliant schemes, even where they are the visions of unsound imagination, rather than the suggestions of crafty mischief, is, that they tend to dissatisfy the minds of the uninformed with the actual constitution of their country.

"To maintain that constitution has been the unvarying object of my political life: and the maintenance of it, in these latter days, has, I have said, exposed me to obloquy and to hatred;—to the hatred of those who believe either their own reputation for sagacity, or their own means of success, to be connected with a change in the present institutions of the country.

"We have heard something of numbers, in the course of the present election; and there is in numbers, I confess, a coincidence which gratifies and pleases me. The number *three hundred* was that of the majority which assured my return. It is the number, I am informed, of those who are assembled here to greet me this day. The last time that I heard of the number *three hundred*, in a way at all interesting to myself, was in an intimation, publicly conveyed to me, that precisely that number of heroes had bound themselves, by oath to each other, to assassinate me. Gentlemen, against my three hundred assassins I put my three hundred friends,—and I feel neither my life nor my popularity in danger."

The circumstance to which Mr. Canning alluded, was, that three hundred persons had been said to be leagued to destroy Mr. Canning, in the event of his gaining the election. The report of this intended massacre was,

however, generally regarded as an impotent attempt to terrify the candidate and his supporters.

On the question of the Indemnity Bill, the sufferings of those who had endured imprisonment from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, became matter of consideration.

Sir Samuel Romilly designated them as proceedings more suited to the government of Algiers, than to any government that professed to be directed by laws.

The case that had been most relied on by the opposers of the bill, was the petition of William Ogden, who represented himself as seventy-four years of age, with seventeen children—that he had been confined nine months—a manacle of thirty pounds' weight was put upon him, which dislocated his arm—that he cried bitterly for assistance, but that none came to him for sixteen hours; during which time he suffered the most excruciating torture.

Mr. Canning said, amongst other things—"No doubt, every man who has been arrested under the Suspension Act, will come to the bar and swear—no, not swear, but declare—that he has been most cruelly and unjustly treated; that he was the most innocent and most injured of mankind; and that his merits had only pointed him out as an object for prosecution; that he has been exposed to the most cruel tortures; and that all his calamities were to be attributed to Oliver the spy. In the head and phalanx of petitions, (and it is to be supposed, that the honourable members on the other side have not been wanting in prudence to select the best case,) stands that renowned gentleman, and instigator of murder, (Mr. Francis Ward.) True it is, that he has now been abandoned, deserted, in his utmost need; because his friends, or, rather, the supporters of his petition, found it con-

venient for their argument; not, however, before his crimes had been detected, and his character blasted. Then, and not till then, he was expelled from their company; and, instead of calling, as they have done, for the sympathy of the House—for its compassion—for its tears—over the sufferings of this admirable and amiable being, the other side dropped his name entirely, or insisted that the merits or demerits of this Luddite—this hirer of assassins—this instigator of murder and rebellion—had nothing to do with their other petitions. Assuredly, the case of Mr. Ward is not precisely that on which the House of Commons would think fit to found an impeachment of government. Ward, and all his patient sufferings, being abandoned, next, with all the pomp of eloquence, and all the flexibility of pathos, is introduced the ever-to-be-revered and unhappy Ogden. His name was pronounced with all the veneration belonging to virtuous age and silver hairs; and yet, on inquiry, what did his case turn out to be, but that he had been cured of a rupture, at the public expense.

"The greater part of the petition of this ill-used personage consisted of a nice and particular description of the manner in which his extended bowels writhed round the knife of the surgeon; and it is impossible to forget the general shudder felt by the House, when that part of the petition was read. Yet the plain truth is, that this man had laboured under the affliction (asserted by the petition to have been produced by the severity of the confinement) many years, and he took advantage of his confinement, to have it cured *gratis;* and expressed, afterwards, to his relatives and friends, the comfort and delight he experienced on being thus made a new man again.

"The case of the revered and ruptured Ogden may be a very fit one to be brought before the Rupture Society,

but to require upon it the decision of Parliament, is such a daring attempt upon its credulity, as will probably be never again attempted.

"This, however, was not enough; the other side were not satisfied with the exposure of the murderous Luddite, Ward, or with the case of gratuitous surgery. The trick and fraud, the impostures tried upon the House, obvious to all besides, were not obvious to them;—they still endeavoured to multiply the number of those who were duped by these gross and designed misrepresentations;—and if the House had unluckily suffered itself to be imposed upon by impudence of assertion, it would not have had the consolation of being pitied for its weakness, without the bitter aggravation of being laughed at for its simplicity.

"Another case, not less curious than absurd, was soon afterwards brought forward, the object of which was to connect spies with the government. It was stated, in a petition, that a man named Dewhurst was seen in a gig belonging to sir John Byng. This was maintained as a grave fact:—true, it was retracted a week afterwards. The proposition had two tangible parts—first, Dewhurst; next, the gig; and soon afterwards arrives a note from sir John Byng, pithy indeed, but very much to the matter in question, viz. 'There is no Dewhurst, and I have no gig.'"

Mr. Canning proceeded, at great length, to draw inferences, that all the assertions would thus be proved to be false in every particular.

Whatever the popular feeling upon this speech then was, and whatever the general opinion may now be, it is unfair to draw from it an inference that our hero was deficient in that staple commodity in the *mouths* of orators—compassion. It should be remembered, that mi-

nisters and oppositionists, and, indeed, all men who form parties, become amenable for the acts of each other. There is a fatal indivisibility about public transactions, and the censure seldom falls entirely on the head of him with whom the evil originated. It follows, that each link of this chain must support the other; and when a hasty act has involved the whole party in a dilemma, by the folly or vice of one, or his agents, the others must become his advocates, to draw him from a gulf in which they must otherwise sink with him. This principle is not confined to the ministerial side of the question. In numberless instances, such as the impeachment of Warren Hastings, trial of lord Melville, &c. &c. the Opposition became advocates for the people, and for one another; broad assertions were supported by their party, even when those who supported them knew that they were founded on imaginings instead of facts, conjecture rather than knowledge. Those who deal in anathemas on the conduct of public men, would do well to consider the circumstances in which those men stand. It is easy to say, that in such a case the duty of a public man is to state the plain truth, and, on all occasions, promote the welfare, and accede to the wishes of the people; but the latter is seldom compatible with the former, whatever Utopian philosophers may urge. It is the curse of the many, to draw large and liberal conclusions from slender premises; and adversaries are generally so ungenerous, so apt to take all advantages in political warfare, that a minister who should boldly come forward, and say, my colleagues have done wrong, and I admit it, instead of meeting any thing like reciprocal candour, would be insulted by the boasting of his opponents, who would attribute concession to an inability to defend; and would contend for the correctness of all their

demands and statements, because one (however trivial) had been admitted. The public seem but little inclined, too, to believe that error may be sometimes the mere effect of accident; whilst, in the common relations of life, we allow for the feelings of our friends, and even our enemies, the misdoings of a minister are perpetually represented as *wilful* errors.

In the speech just quoted, there is little reason to suppose that Mr. Canning spoke the feelings of his bosom; he rose as the advocate of those who had either committed or been led into error. To own their guilt, would have been to give a triumph to those who would not receive it nobly, or enjoy it discreetly. It would have awakened the public to a cry of "vengeance," that then could scarcely have been withheld; and it is to be doubted, whether men who do wrong, should be made public examples, when they have done so under an impression that they were doing right. However, merging the question of right or wrong, guilty or not guilty, in toto, Mr. Canning rose as an advocate, to defend those whom it was either not justice or policy to punish. How defend them, then? It was not, perhaps, easy to deny, seriously, that they had acted unadvisedly; but it was comparatively so, to show that the sufferings caused by their conduct was much less than the oppositionists represented. Mr. Canning was too good a logician to attempt to argue where he must suffer defeat;—he therefore attacked reason by ridicule, and raised a laugh where he could not upset an argument. What was there criminal in this? if aught, did the criminality rest with him alone? No jester proceeds, if society does not sanction his jesting with their smiles. The House of Commons shared the obloquy with Mr. Canning, if any attended this speech; but we rather think that, looking

dispassionately at the matter, Mr. Canning will be found to have done no more than make the best answer he could to a staggering charge, attended with much exaggeration, and bolstered by strong popular prejudice. Instances are on record where men have joked over the grave of their friends,* yet no one had the hardihood to accuse such men of wilful malignity; it sometimes requires more than human forbearance to avoid giving vent to a witticism, and men cannot always rein in their fancies at will. Mr. Canning had not risen to a systematic defence, but spoke suddenly, and threw off in heat the sentences that were so eagerly seized by his enemies as the ground-work for deliberate attacks.

The muse of Mr. Moore was employed on this occasion; and all parties will, perhaps, agree, that had Mr. Canning's error been of a much deeper dye, it would have been amply punished by the castigation inflicted in the following powerful verses. They were published in the *Morning Chronicle*, a few days after the delivery of the speech.

"LINES ON A LATE DISPLAY IN THE —— OF ——.

'*In jocis quoque perniciosus.*'
'ÆLIUS LAMPRID. DE COMMODO.'

"Is *this*, then, the eloquence fit for the ears
Of the statesmen of England—the manly, the wise?
Is *this*, then, the wit to awaken the cheers
Of the men on whose council the world hath its eyes?

"To make mirth, as the mummer's last brutal resource,
Out of torments, the deadliest man can sustain;
And to probe with a ridicule cruel and coarse
As the knife of the Indian the vitals of pain.

* Foote at Holland's funeral, is a story too well known for repetition.

" To lay bare every pang that, in ribaldry's dearth,
Even ribalds themselves would have cover'd in shade;
And to mock—gracious Heaven! with a mountebank's mirth,
The quivering of agony's nerve round the blade!

" Is this, then, the feeling,—is *this* the display,
Of that hall where the mighty of England once spoke;
Where a light from the spirit of Fox, like the ray
O'er the chains of the apostle* enfranchising broke.

" Where a SHERIDAN'S wit, (oh, the contrast to this!)
Though as wild as the creatures of air that in spring
Seem to lend a new charm to the flow'rets they kiss—
Never lighted on aught that could sully its wing.

" Where *once* there were men—had a MOMUS thus shook
His bells o'er the bed where a sufferer wasted—
Had struck down the heartless buffoon with a look,
And there left him, like something that lightning had blasted!

" But *is* this the eloquence Britons applaud?
Forbid it our nature—forbid it our fame;
On the mime who could utter—the slaves who could laud—
Such dishonouring trash, be the curse and the shame.

" No, still let the witling—if wit it can be,
That forsakes its own element, freedom and right,
And like fishes whose home, when alive, was the sea,
To *corruption* alone owes its pestilent light.†

" No, still let the *punster*, the *parodist*, draw
From his out-of-date libels a pittance of fame,
While he helps to halloo the keen beagles of law,
At the fools who thus sanction'd dare venture the same.

" Let him plunder with those whom he ridiculed then,
Let him live by the crew who then waken'd his laughter,
Like creatures we read of, (less rank than such men,)
Who befoul first their victim, and feed on it after.

" * ' And a light shined in the prison —— and his chains fell off from his hands.'—*Acts* xii. 7.

" † The power of *rotten* fish to *shine* is well known.

" Yes, still let this trader—a trader as gross,
As the sleekest of them, whose 'sweet voices' he craves—
When *ethics* like theirs lie in profit and loss,
And whose trade (if it might) would like theirs be in *slaves*.

" Let him crouch to the rival he *would* have supplanted,
Since safer he finds it to crouch than betray;
Be his pledges belied, and his charges recanted,
The tribute that rival has bribed him to pay.

" All this let him do—even worse let him dare;
But never, just God, let the scoffer again,
Make a jest of the ills that thy creatures must bear,
Lest thou wither the tongue that thus sports with their pain!"*

This was not the only punishment that awaited our hero for this indiscreet speech. A letter, in the form of a pamphlet, appeared, of a most extraordinary and intemperate character; it attacked our hero with unexampled virulence, and became noticeable, as it was powerfully as well as violently written. In style it resembled the letters of Junius, and the authorship was attributed to sir Philip Francis, then suspected as the author of "Junius;" that gentleman denied any knowledge of it. This pamphlet was suppressed, the day after its publication. Extracts from it would be now uninteresting; it will be found by the curious reader in the Times of the 14th of April, 1818, with the exception of the most violent paragraph, which ran nearly as follows.

"If you ever accuse me of treason—throw me into prison—make your jailers load me with chains, and then jest at my sufferings—I WILL PUT YOU TO DEATH."

Irritated at this attack, Mr. Canning wrote and published the following letter:—

* Mr. Canning's defence of this speech will be found in an account of the election of 1820, in the future pages.

"Gloucester Lodge, April 10, 1818.

"SIR,—I received, early in the last week, the copy of your pamphlet which you (I take for granted) had the attention to send to me.

"Soon after, I was informed, on the authority of your publisher, that you had withdrawn the whole impression from him, with the view (as was supposed) of suppressing the publication.

"I since learn, however, that the pamphlet, though not sold, is circulated under blank covers.

"I learn this from (among others) the gentleman to whom the pamphlet has been industriously attributed, but who has voluntarily and absolutely denied to me that he has any knowledge of it, or of its author.

"To you, sir, whoever you may be, I address myself thus directly, for the purpose of expressing to you my opinion, that

"You are a liar and a slanderer, and want courage only to be an assassin.

"I have only to add, that no man knows of my writing to you; that I shall maintain the same reserve, so long as I have an expectation of hearing from you in your own name; and that I shall not give up that expectation, till to-morrow (Saturday) night.

"The same address that brought me your pamphlet will bring any letter safe to my hands.

"I am, sir,

"Your humble servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

"For the Author of 'A Letter to the
Right Hon. George Canning.'"

"(Mr. Ridgway is requested to forward this letter to its destination.)"

The author was never discovered, and thus the affair concluded.

On the 17th of November, 1818, Queen Charlotte expired; and, about the same period, the death of sir Samuel Romilly gave a shock to society. Suicide, committed by such men as Whitbread and Romilly, becomes doubly dreadful: it betrays the wreck of mighty minds: and serves to support the axiom, that the nearer the

mind approaches perfection, the closer it verges to insanity.

In consequence of the death of Sir Samuel, another election took place for Westminster; and a sharp contest occurred between Mr. Hobhouse and the honourable G. Lamb, which ended in favour of the latter; for whom lord Castlereagh, and some other members of the administration, voted. On the question of the State of the Nation, in reply to Mr. Tierney, Mr. Canning adverted to this election, as follows:—

"What do the Whigs think of another Westminster election? It is true that the honourable baronet (sir Francis Burdett) is this night with them; but it is only on the understanding that they will support his darling measure of parliamentary reform. After some hesitation, and a sort of whispering, the right honourable gentlemen acceded to the honourable baronet's condition, and a coalition has taken place. Suppose, now, that the new coalition ministry were formed; who, in point of talent, of rank, and of consideration in the country, was better fitted to be a leading member of the Cabinet than the honourable baronet? Well, then, everybody knows that one of the first questions which the honourable baronet would, when minister, bring forward, would be the great subject of parliamentary reform. What then would be the conduct of the Whig members of the Cabinet? Either they would come forward in a body to support the plan of their honourable colleague, and thereby flatly contradict their professions of a long series of years, or they would be a divided administration 'on the most important, the most comprehensive, the most vital question that ever agitated the country,' and thus be liable to the same reproach which they so unmercifully cast upon their unfortunate predecessors. An honourable

gentleman has said, that if the ministers are popular in the House, the Whigs are popular in the country. I should have thought popularity was the last topic that the Whigs would have alluded to, as one of their pretensions to come into power. I do not conceive that ministers are particularly popular, nor myself more than the rest of my colleagues; but I have gone through the ordeal of a public election, without the accompaniment of *mud* and *grenadiers*. I have not been subjected to such *striking* proofs of favouritism as those idols of the people—the Whigs; who, with laurels in their hats, and brickbats at their heels, bedaubed with ribands and rubbish, were forced to be rescued from their overpowering popularity, by a detachment of his Majesty's Horse Guards. Suppose these mud-bespattered Whigs were to come into office, instead of the present ministry, who, it is said, are so disliked throughout the country, where, after all, is the advantage worth contending for? Is it for the trifling difference between an *unpopular* and a *pelted* administration? The right honourable gentleman has confessed that this is a trial of strength; and I trust that the division of this night will show which party, in the opinion of the House, is the more likely to give stability to our internal quiet, permanency to our external glory, and produce general confidence throughout the country."

On the 16th of August, 1819, a meeting took place at Manchester, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. The populace that assembled were furiously attacked by the yeomanry—men and women were indiscriminately cut down, as the reformers averred—and the complaints of the sufferers excited sympathy in all parts of the kingdom. Hunt and Burdett were tried, and the former sent to Ilchester; and the matter was inquired into by Parliament.

On the 29th of January, 1820, his Majesty, king George the Third, departed this life; and his present Majesty being his successor, attention was, of course, turned to one who, in the conflicting events of the late years, had escaped from public view. In June, 1820, her Majesty arrived in England. We have purposely omitted any mention of the part Mr. Canning took in the Queen's case, because it appeared better to place the whole of the subject together.

It may be urged that we have too often gone into detail, but this work is not one of the moment; it is meant for future days; and this is not said in vanity, for the subject involves the durability of the history. The writer may be as dark and as gloomy as the tomb of old, but the never-dying light of Canning's fame will shed a brilliancy over the pages. There is, perhaps, nothing more annoying in works of this description, than to suddenly find a reference to any subject, as too well known for comment, of the facts of which the reader is really wholly ignorant. Needless repetition is, in such cases, more pardonable than omission; and, it is hoped, that in this volume the medium has been generally observed.

We proceed, then, to a brief glance at the circumstances of the Queen, as far as it regards the conduct of our hero, who had, at an early period, given his opinion of the accomplishments and character of that unfortunate Princess, by saying, that she was "the life, grace, and honour of every society she chose to ennoble with her presence."

When the separation of her royal highness the Princess of Wales from the Prince was finally agreed on, the Princess fixed her residence at the village of Charlton, in the neighbourhood of Blackheath, whither she was accompanied by Miss Garth, Miss Vernon, Mrs.

Harcourt, Mrs. Sanders, and a few other ladies, who formed the whole of her female establishment. On her royal highness being appointed ranger of Greenwich Park, she removed from Charlton to Montague House, Blackheath.

The following individuals formed the chief society that her royal highness enjoyed in her retreat:—lord Hood, lord Aurelius Beauclerc, captain Manby, sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Campe, a most intelligent gentleman and a native of Germany, and Mr. Canning.

Among the residents in the immediate vicinity of Montague House, was the family of sir John Douglas, whose lady, about this period (1801), was delivered (as report stated) of a very beautiful female infant. This report reached the ear of her royal highness, who was ever remarkable for her fondness for children, and she expressed her determination to see the child. One morning, lady Douglas perceived, from her drawing-room window, her royal highness endeavouring to open the gate which led to the hall door; and her ladyship immediately came down stairs, and was saluted by her royal highness with her accustomed frankness—"I believe you are lady Douglas, and have a very beautiful child; I should like to see it." Her ladyship requested her royal highness would walk in, and lamented that her family were in town, and she could not, at the moment, gratify her royal highness and Miss Heyman (the lady who accompanied her). Shortly after this introduction, sir John and lady Douglas received an invitation to Montague House, and an intimacy soon took place between the Princess and lady Douglas. Our readers need scarcely be informed, that the Princess of Wales's fondness for children induced her to adopt the infant son of a labourer in the dock-yard at Deptford; and this circum-

stance laid the foundation for a most malignant persecution; the principal agents in which, and, indeed, the whole instigators, were the amiable lady and sir John Douglas, (the husband in this instance, no doubt, acting under the influence of his wife). The sapient sir John commenced retailing his wife's infamous and scandalous surmises, not as surmises, but as facts, to his royal highness the duke of Sussex, who felt it due to his royal brother instantly to make him acquainted with every particular; and further to inform him, that the duke of Kent had been made acquainted with the matter a twelvemonth before.

The duke of Kent, on being applied to, instantly furnished his royal brother with the particulars of the information he had received on the subject, of which the following is the substance.

The duke of Kent stated, that, about a twelvemonth previous, he received a note from the Princess of Wales, requesting him to arrange a disagreeable matter, between sir Sidney Smith, sir John, and lady Douglas. Her royal highness informed him, at an interview he had with her royal highness, in consequence of the note alluded to, that she had reasons for desiring to discontinue her acquaintance with lady Douglas, but that lady would take no hint that her visits were not desired; and, in consequence, her royal highness was compelled to desire one of her ladies to address a note to lady Douglas, informing her, that her visits in future would be dispensed with; in consequence of this note, an application had been made to the Princess, through a member of her household, in the joint names of sir Sidney Smith, sir John, and lady Douglas, for an audience; but the Princess, being averse to any disagreeable controversy, and being convinced that her determination not to renew

her acquaintance with lady Douglas was one that she owed to the due consideration of her dignified station, inasmuch as that lady had betrayed a flightiness and lightness of character that the Princess could not approve, peremptorily refused to grant the interview.

The Princess requested the duke to interfere, to prevent her being further troubled in the matter; and his royal highness the duke of Kent sent a message to sir Sidney Smith, requesting he would call on him. Sir Sidney Smith waited on the royal duke, and, having heard the object for which his royal highness desired the interview, stated, that the reason sir John and lady Douglas wished an audience with her royal highness, was in consequence of their having received an anonymous letter, of a nature calculated to set on sir John and him, to cut each other's throats; which, from the handwriting and style, they were both fully convinced was the production of her royal highness. After some further conversation, his royal highness requested the matter might not be further agitated for the present; and his royal highness was led to adopt this course, in consequence of the effect such a matter being made public might have on his Majesty. It was finally settled, that the affair should not be further entered into for the present; and the duke informed her royal highness of that fact, who seemed perfectly satisfied with the manner in which the affair had, for the time, ended.

The duke of Kent having satisfied his royal brother, of the motives that induced him to make a secret of the matter for such a period, the Prince of Wales parted with him in the most cordial manner; but an application was instantly made to lady Douglas, demanding from her a full statement of the whole circumstances attending her acquaintance with the Princess of Wales. The following is the substance of lady Douglas's statement:—

Lady Douglas prefaced her infamous narrative by stating her conviction that she was doing right, in laying the account she was about to furnish before the Prince, "As it will prevent such a person (meaning the Princess) from one day placing a spurious heir upon the English throne, and which his royal highness has indeed a right to fear;" as the Princess told her, "If she were discovered in bringing her son into the world, she would give the Prince the credit of it; for she had slept two nights, in the year she was pregnant, in Carlton House." Her ladyship then mentions her first interview with her royal highness, which we have noticed in page 389. This narration, which is of great length, and contained a vast quantity of petty details, states distinctly, that the Princess was with child, and that she made lady Douglas acquainted with the fact, and stated, that she (the Princess) had not the slightest fear of getting through the difficulty easily enough.

The statement was signed by Charlotte Douglas and John Douglas, in the presence of Augustus Frederick; and dated, Greenwich Park, Dec. 3, 1805.

No sooner was his Majesty made acquainted with the aspersion on the character of his illustrious daughter-in-law, than he issued his warrant, commanding lords Erskine, Grenville, Ellenborough, and earl Spencer, to inquire into the truth of the allegations.

And their lordships, after a long and patient investigation, assured his Majesty that there was not the smallest grounds for suspecting her royal highness of any act contrary to the dignity of her station.

In the early part of this inquiry, Mr. Canning's name was brought up in a way to induce a belief, that a connexion was suspected between himself and the Princess; but this *innuendo* never excited or received any farther notice.

After having endured years of persecution and mortification, the Princess, induced by the strenuous arguments and eloquence of Mr. Canning, consented to take up her residence on the Continent; and sailed from Worthing for Hamburgh, where she arrived on the 16th of August, 1814; taking £35,000 per annum, instead of the £50,000, voted her by Parliament.

Mr. Canning avowed himself the Princess's adviser subsequently in the House; and said, on the subject of her residing abroad, that "faction had marked her for its own;" and "he would give the same advice, under the same circumstances, to his nearest relation."

This was not the only time that Mr. Canning spoke on the Princess's behalf, in the House. On Cochrane Johnstone's motion, (1813,) he said, "I am prepared to assert and maintain, that the words and meaning of the Cabinet Report, in 1807, conveyed a complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal." In speaking of the letter of the Princess, he reprobated the publication of it; but added, "I would not have raised the flame, by calling in the aid of other persons to assist the Cabinet."

Respecting the work, entitled "The Book," Mr. Canning spoke as follows, in the House:—

"When I first received a copy of that publication from Mr. Percival, I sent him the following note:—'I have received your book. I am sorry it has appeared. It will certainly come out, some time or other; and that you may know that it is not from my copy, I return you the one you have sent me.'

"The recent publications (the letter, &c.) have been most guilty. I have those near me who can testify, that I supplicated my late right honourable friend not to print those documents at a former period; for I assured

him, that to print, with the hope of subsequently suppressing, was the worst of all human expectations."*

On the 6th of June, 1820, Queen Caroline re-appeared in England. On the same day, the following proceedings took place in the House of Commons.

"Lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar of the House.

"*The Speaker.* 'Lord Castlereagh, what have you got there?'

"*Lord Castlereagh.* 'A message from the King.'

"The Speaker desired him to bring it up.

"The noble lord then brought up a paper and a sealed green bag: the paper he gave into the hands of the Speaker; the green bag he laid upon the table.

"The Speaker then proceeded to read the message, amidst loud cries of 'hats off.'

"Lord Castlereagh then rose, and said, that he should move that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return him thanks for his most gracious message, and to assure him that the House would take the same into their immediate consideration. He should also move, at the same time, that the papers to which the message alluded should be referred to a secret committee; but, at present, he should content himself with moving, that the House take this message into consideration to-morrow."

The following day, lord Castlereagh rose, and moved the order of the day. The message was then read.

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* It is worthy of remark, that the Princess visited the Opera-house on the 11th of June, 1814, (when the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, Prince Regent, &c. &c., went there,) per advice of Mr. Canning; and that, on that occasion, the Prince *bowed three times* to her royal highness, though he had previously expressed his determination never to recognise her in public.

"GEORGE R.—The King thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the Queen, to communicate to the House of Commons certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty, since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of this House.

"The King has felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of disclosures and discussions, which must be as painful to his people as they can be to himself; but the step now taken by the Queen leaves him no alternative.

"The King has the fullest confidence, that, in consequence of this communication, the House of Commons will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case and the honour and dignity of his Majesty's crown may require.

"GEORGE R."

After this his lordship went into a long explanation of the charges brought against her Majesty, and concluded by moving, that the papers, presented by him to the House, should be referred to a select committee. This, Mr. Brougham vehemently opposed.

When Mr. Brougham resumed his seat, Mr. Canning rose, under evident agitation, and spoke to the following effect:—

"I never rose to deliver my sentiments on a subject of so much delicacy and interest as that now before the House. I never felt myself called on to discharge a duty so painful as the present, or which demanded from every liberal mind a greater portion of calmness, of patience, and of attention, than the question under consideration requires. The occasion out of which it arose, and the circumstances that are connected with it, are of a nature as novel as they are delicate. I listened with attention to what the learned gentleman (Mr. Brougham) stated, with respect to the mischief that might result from the inquiry into which we are forced, and I heartily concur in the sentiments he uttered. I do not think it is possible to turn such an investigation to the advantage of

the country, or of the parties whom it concerns. The dearest interests of the country, and the character of the most illustrious personages in it, are involved in the proceeding. But, with respect to all that part of the learned gentleman's speech, in which he imputes to the ministers of the Crown any responsibility that may attach to this transaction, I hold it to be of no weight whatsoever. And, in taking up the challenge which the learned gentleman threw out last night, I am prepared to say, not only that ministers do not come to the country; not only that they do not come to Parliament; not only that they have not sought this occasion; not only that they deprecate it with all their hearts; but that they have interposed every possible expedient to prevent a calamity, which they would, with all their power and all their means, have averted. I know that it is a common remark with many gentlemen, that ministers are fond of their places, and that out of their adherence to them, the present communication from the Crown has arisen; but the honourable and learned gentleman is well aware that this observation is not true. If the present had been a case where some preponderating influence had been exerted, in order to have the charge brought forward, and if the bringing of it forward could have been at all checked by the retirement of such an insignificant individual as myself from public life, no man would have been more ready than myself to have tendered the resignation of all my appointments. But this is by no means the case. Ministers have, to the very last moment, entertained hopes of being able to bring the negociation with her Majesty to a favourable conclusion; those hopes have unfortunately been frustrated, and the cup of expectation dashed from their lips, at the very moment when they were ready to enjoy it. One course only was then

left for them to adopt, and that was the course which they have adopted. Such are the observations which press themselves upon my notice; some of them are forced from me by my own personal feelings; others, by the duty which I owe to my sovereign. Having thus discharged my duty, as well to myself as to my king, it is my intention to abstain individually from all further interference in this transaction."

Mr. Canning at length resigned, rather than take part in these proceedings; and to this subject we shall advert hereafter; meanwhile, let us pass to a review of several extraordinary occurrences, that were cotemporaneous with this investigation.

The Cato Street conspiracy was so singular and unprecedented, that it demands commemoration; the following is a detail of its circumstances:—

Rumour spoke of a discovery, about the close of February, 1820, and the most active of the Bow Street officers were on the alert. On the 23d, a party proceeded to Cato Street,* where they found a variety of persons. There a desperate conflict ensued, and poor Smithers,

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* Cato Street runs from John Street into Queen Street, parallel with Newnham Street, and is not a thoroughfare. A three-stall stable, with a loft above, was the place of meeting.

The plan was as follows:—

Thistlewood was to have knocked at lord Harrowby's door with a letter, purporting to be a dispatch, or with a red box, as is used in all public offices, desiring it to be delivered immediately to the Cabinet Ministers at dinner without delay. The servant, it was supposed, would immediately proceed with the dispatch, whilst Thistlewood, with another of the conspirators, entered the hall, as if to wait. They were immediately to open the street door, others were to come in with hand-grenades, which were to be thrown into the house, and in the confusion to be produced by them, all the rest of the conspirators were to rush into the dining-room, and the work of assassination was to have begun.

the patrol, was slain, whilst the gang of desperadoes escaped.

On the following Sunday, the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, was attended by his royal highness the duke of York, earl Bathurst, the earl of Westmorland, lord Melville, Mr. Canning, and several others of the Cabinet Council. Immediately previous to the general thanksgiving, the reverend Mr. Knapp, the reader, announced "that several members of his Majesty's Privy Council desired to return thanks to Almighty God for their late preservation." At the conclusion of the service, an excellent discourse was preached by the bishop of Oxford, from the sixth chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, twenty-second verse, in which he pointed out, with great eloquence, the advantages to be derived by mankind, both here and hereafter, from an adherence to those principles of the Christian religion which the apostle had laboured to inculcate.

We understand that the public thanksgiving thus given, was at the express suggestion of his Majesty, who felt deeply interested in the occurrences, and personally inspected the result of the inquiries set on foot.

On the following day, a placard was exhibited on all the walls of the metropolis, offering a reward of two hundred pounds for the apprehension of a man of the name of Palin, or Peeling, who was one of the most active of the conspirators. The following is a copy of the placard to which we have alluded:—

"Whitehall, 26th of February, 1820.

"Two Hundred Pounds Reward.—Whereas, John Palin, *alias* Peeling, stands charged with High Treason. A Reward of Two Hundred Pounds is hereby offered to any person, or persons, who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the said John Palin, *alias* Peeling, to be paid by the

lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, upon his being apprehended and lodged in any of his Majesty's jails. And all persons are hereby cautioned upon their allegiance not to receive or harbour the said John Palin, *alias* Peeling, as any person offending herein will be thereby guilty of High Treason.

"SIDMOUTH."

In the course of the morning, a scientific man was sent to sir Richard (then Mr.) Birnie, at Bow Street, by sir Benjamin Bloomfield, to examine the arms, ammunition, and combustibles, found on the premises in Cato Street. The fire-arms were some of them foreign. The swords, of various descriptions, most of them without sheaths; and the greater part had the appearance of being old blades fixed in common wooden handles, with a loop at the end, to attach them to the wrist. That which required most trouble to inspect, was one of the hand-grenades, of which ten were found in the loft. This seemed to be made with a fiend-like ingenuity, and to be well calculated for the dreadful purpose of destruction. After some trouble, Ruthven, the officer, succeeded in stripping this infernal machine. It was found to consist, first, of a small tin box, in shape similar to a common dredging box, but closed at each end. From the centre of this rose a small narrow tube, about two inches and a half in length, and this was filled with what is commonly called wild-fire, or damped powder, which was to operate as a fusee. This case contained from two to three ounces of gunpowder. It was then wrapped in a thick fold of tow, which had been previously steeped in tar. Next to this came a vast number of pieces of iron, such as spikes, old nails, fragments of broken files, and pieces of sheet iron, cut into parts of about an inch square, and so on. All these were bound together with rope yarn, obtained from old tarred rope, and presented together a ball of

about seven inches in diameter. This once lighted, and thrown into a room or a crowd, must have produced the most dreadful consequences.* The gentleman who made the examination, said, when the internal box burst, it would propel the pieces of iron which we have described, with the force of a musket, to the distance of one hundred yards. From this, some notion may be formed of the blood-thirsty intention of the conspirators. A larger machine, of the same description, was also found in the loft, weighing upwards of fourteen pounds. This was armed with pieces of iron of a much more terrific description than those we last alluded to. The explosion of this would have produced the most dreadful consequences.

The grenade which was opened was taken away, for the inspection of his Majesty.

A circumstance of rather a singular nature occurred during this inspection. Ruthven, among other things, produced an old hat, which was found on the day after the arrest of the conspirators, in some of the adjoining streets, containing some ball cartridges. This hat, on being now examined, was found to contain an open note, addressed by Mr. Manning, an attorney in the Adelphi, to the editor of a morning paper, requesting him to correct some error which had crept into a report that had been published in that paper, respecting a charge exhibited by Mr. Manning against a horse dealer. This note had not been folded, nor did it appear ever to have reached its intended destination How it came into the hat became a mystery, which the presence of Mr. Manning could only solve. Mr. Manning was sent for, and immediately

* This was to have been thrown into the room where the Cabinet Ministers were dining.

attended; when he stated, that the note in question had been delivered by him to Smithers, at half-past six on the evening of his murder. Smithers had been engaged in apprehending a man against whom he had preferred a charge; and called on him on the Wednesday evening, to request that he would get the trial, which stood for the first on the ensuing morning, postponed, as he was going on a business of some importance. On that occasion, he gave him the note found in the hat, to be delivered at the newspaper office, requesting a correction of the error which had appeared; and Mr. Manning perfectly recollected his throwing it into his hat. Mr. Manning also stated, that he had asked him where he was going; but, faithful to his trust, he made no disclosure: he went away, saying, that Mr. Manning would hear of something terrible in the morning. He was, unfortunately, too good a prophet. The first intelligence which Mr. Manning received on reaching his breakfast table, was an account of the poor fellow's death. It was now recollected that Smithers's hat had been missing, and, on looking at that which became the subject of inquiry, Ruthven said, he believed it to be Smithers's. The fact was so. Some one of the conspirators had taken it away by mistake; and, on discovering the error, it is supposed he emptied his pockets of ball cartridges into it, and threw it into an area to avoid detection.

Thistlewood was soon found, and Preston, another of the conspirators, was afterwards taken, and examined before the marquis of Camden—earls Mulgrave, Powis, and Bathurst—lords Sidmouth, Castlereagh, and Palmerston—the chief baron of Scotland, and Mr. Canning.

On the 3d of March, the final examination of the conspirators took place, (sixteen were then in custody) an

account of which we have extracted from the public press of the period, (as expressing the feeling of the time more particularly,) previous to offering any remarks upon it.

On Friday morning, the 3d of March, at ten o'clock, an order from the office of the secretary of state was delivered to Mr. Adkins, at the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, directing him to have all his prisoners, charged with being connected with the late conspiracy, at Whitehall, by eleven o'clock, for the purpose of being examined before the privy council. Mr. Adkins was, at the time of this order reaching him, in chapel, with his other prisoners; he, however, immediately attended to the order in question. At this moment, a detachment of the Horse Guards arrived, and were permitted to enter the prison court-yard. The prisoners were then brought down from their respective cells to the lodge, where they were hand-cuffed by the principal officers of Bow Street, as on the preceding day. Every thing being in readiness, four carriages were drawn up; three prisoners were put into each of the first three, and Thistlewood and Monument, accompanied by Mr. Adkins and Lavender, were put into the fourth. The escort then moved on, three horsemen riding between each carriage, and a party being before and behind. They took the nearest route to Whitehall, and reached the Home Office at eleven. On the way, Thistlewood expressed a hope that he might that day know the course which was to be pursued towards him, as he was anxious to have an interview with his wife. He repeatedly thrust his head out of the coach window, as he did on the previous day, as if he expected to see some person or persons with whom he was acquainted. He was not observed to notice any particular

individual. On the arrival of the prisoners at the Home Office, they were conducted through Mr. Day's office, to the room of sir Nathaniel Conant.

There were present in council, the lord chancellor, lord Sidmouth, earl Bathurst, earl Mulgrave, the duke of Wellington, lord Palmerston, sir William Scott, sir John Nicholl, Mr. Peel, Mr. Canning, the marquis Camden, the chief baron of Scotland, and the attorney and solicitor general. Mr. Buller was the clerk of the council in attendance. Immediately after the prisoners had all been called in, an express was sent off to captain J. H. Elrington, fort-major of the Tower of London, directing him to prepare for the immediate reception of ten state prisoners.

The whole of the examinations having been brought to a conclusion, the council proceeded to deliberate upon the course which was to be adopted with respect to each individual case. They remained thus engaged for nearly two hours. During this interval, the crowd in front of the office greatly increased, and the most anxious entreaties were made, to be permitted to see the conspirators. These were in most cases ineffectual. Only a few noblemen were permitted to enter, including lord Westmoreland, lord Stair, and some others. The persons being themselves pretty well apprised of the charges which were to be preferred against them, became less equivocal in their behaviour. Wilson, Davidson, and Tidd, who were linked together, were most daring. They laughed in derision at the persons who came to view them, and seemed to be little affected by the situation in which they were placed. Brunt, in imitation of his captain, put on his hat, and thus assumed the character which has been assigned him, of being second in command. At half-past four, Mr. Day, the clerk of the papers, was sent

for by Mr. Hobhouse, the under secretary, who communicated to him the orders of the council.

On Mr. Day's return, he stated to sir Nathaniel Conant and Mr. Baker, who were remaining in his office, that eight of the prisoners were to be forthwith committed to the Tower. He then produced the list, and called over the names of the persons to whom he alluded. These were—Thistlewood, Monument, Brunt, Ings, Wilson, Harrison, Davidson, and Tidd. The men came forth from sir Nathaniel Conant's room, as they were called, and were handcuffed two and two. A short time now elapsed while the warrant to the constable of the Tower was preparing, and until messengers were despatched to obtain carriages, and require the presence of an escort of the Life Guards. This period was occupied by the prisoners in a sort of confused conversation. Harrison and Thistlewood at once threw off all reserve, and shook hands. The others began to speak freely. Davidson said, he should like about a pound of beef-steak, and a pot of porter; and his companions agreed that it would be no bad finish to their day's amusement. Thistlewood said aloud, "I hear the Spaniards are getting on famously!" Wilson answered, "Are they—a cursed good job!" "Aye," replied Thistlewood, "they'll all have it in their turn; they may scrag a few of us, but there is more going on than they are aware of." Harrison laughed, and exclaimed, "Aye, time will show all things."

A bustle outside now announced the approach of the Horse Guards, who drew up in a double column in front of the office, under the command of captain Mayne. A hackney coach then drove up to the door, into which Thistlewood and Brunt were put, accompanied by Mr. Ruff, one of the king's messengers, to whom the warrant was delivered, and by Lavender and Bishop. The coach

then drew off to a short distance, preceded and followed by four of the Life Guards. A second carriage then came up, into which Davidson and Ings were put: they were guarded by Taunton and Perry. Ings, as he mounted the coach, exclaimed, "Hurra, boys!" in expectation, no doubt, of having a cheer from the crowd that was assembled. In this, however, he was disappointed; not a word escaped from the lips of the bystanders, at all in unison with the principles of the conspirators—on the contrary, they seemed to be viewed with feelings of strong disgust.

Davidson and Tidd were placed in the third hackney-coach: they went out laughing: but, previous to their departure, they turned round, and, in common with all those who had been confined in Cold Bath Fields prison, begged to return their grateful thanks to Mr. Adkins, the governor, and to his assistants, for the humane and kind treatment which they had received while under their care: they were guarded by Salmon and Bond. The last who went out were Harrison and Monument. The latter, whose diminutive size made him appear somewhat ludicrous, when placed beside his gigantic companion, was greatly depressed. These men were guarded by Ruthven and Nixon. The whole four carriages being now in readiness, and a constable having mounted each box, the cavalcade set off, completely surrounded by the Horse Guards.

They proceeded over Westminster Bridge, and from thence by the Westminster Road, through the Borough, and over London Bridge, up Fish Street Hill, down Fenchurch Street, the Minories, across Trinity Square to the Tower Gate. They were followed all the way by an immense throng, that did not utter one expression of commiseration.

Ing's conduct was most daring: he continued to exclaim against his Majesty's ministers with the most undisguised abuse, using language of the most revolting nature. He either knew, or affected to know, many persons in the crowd, to whom he nodded, and some of whom gave him a significant shake of the head in return.

Thistlewood made no observation: he seemed to be looking anxiously from the coach-window, as if to see if there were any persons passing whom he could recognise.

Brunt looked extremely gloomy, but did not say anything.

Davidson did not seem at all affected by his situation, and continued in good humour.

Wilson and Tidd laughed, and looked out of the coach windows with apparent indifference; and little Monument seemed to have sunk into a state of despair; he said, he supposed he was not long for this world.

On reaching the upper gate of the Tower, leading to the armoury, it was found shut; but, on a regular summons being made, it was opened without hesitation, and the prisoners and their guards admitted. Notice had been sent off to the Tower, in the early part of the day, to prepare rooms for the prisoners, but still it was with some difficulty that secure apartments could be got in readiness; at last, the necessary accommodations were obtained, and the prisoners were left under the care of the yeomen of the guard.

They were received by captain Elrington, the major of the Tower, who, after some difficulty, from the shortness of the notice which he had received, succeeded in finding them secure apartments.

Each prisoner was placed in a separate apartment; two warders, armed in the usual way, with cutlasses and halberts, were in each room; and at each door was stationed

a sentinel armed, to whose care was entrusted the key of the room, with strict orders not to permit more than one warder to be absent at a time, and that only for occasional purposes.

The number of wardens sufficient to do the ordinary duty of the Tower is ten; but, as soon as the command for preparing the prisons reached the proper quarter, directions were given to increase the number of wardens to sixty.

The iron gate at the east end of the Tower was closed, as usual upon such occasions.

The warrant, directed to the constable of the Tower, was to the following effect:—

"You are hereby required to receive into your custody, Arthur Thistlewood, [*then followed the names of the other prisoners,*] who stand charged with high treason, and them safely to keep till discharged by due course of law; for which this shall be your sufficient authority." Then followed the names of the privy council, commencing with the lord chancellor, earl Westmoreland, &c. This was written on a sheet of foolscap paper, with a black border, and bore the official seal. It was accompanied by a private note to the constable, containing instructions as to the manner in which the prisoners were to be treated.

Bradburn, Strange, Frith, Gillchrist, Hall, and Cooper, were committed to Cold Bath Fields prison.

On the 24th of April, the trials took place; and, on the following Friday, the prisoners having been found guilty, came up for judgment. What these deluded men thought proper to utter in their several defences, bears not upon the point it is now wished to urge; which is, that, even amid these men, Mr. Canning was not an object of hatred. We give portions of the speech of Thistlewood, as he

delivered it, previous to the passing of sentence,—such portions as relate to the conduct of ministers. It will be seen that his anathemas were levelled at lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth; but that even the fury of this man did not induce him to breathe a reproach upon Canning, who had been a principal actor in the affairs of this kingdom for a quarter of a century.

Thistlewood, on being asked why sentence of death should not be passed on him, drew forth a manuscript address, which he read in a mournful tone, and with a strong provincial accent.

"My lords,—I am asked, what I have to say that judgment of death should not be passed upon me according to law. This to me is mockery—for were the reasons I could offer incontrovertible, and were they enforced even by the eloquence of Cicero, still would the vengeance of my lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth be satiated only in the purple stream which circulates through a heart more enthusiastically vibrating to every impulse of patriotism and honour, than that of any of those privileged * * * to their country, who lord it over the lives and property of the sovereign people with barefaced impunity. The reasons which I have, however, I will now state—not that I entertain the slightest hope from your sense of justice, or from your pity. The former is swallowed up in your ambition, or, rather, by the servility you descend to, to obtain the object of that ambition—the latter I despise. Justice I demand. If I am denied it, your pity is no equivalent.

"Many people, who are acquainted with the barefaced manner in which I was plundered by my lord Sidmouth, will, perhaps, imagine that personal motives instigated me to the deed—but I disclaim them. My every principle was for the prosperity of my country. My every

feeling—the height of my ambition—was the welfare of my starving countrymen. I keenly felt for their miseries: but when their miseries were laughed at, and when, because they dared to express those miseries, they were * * * * * * * * * * * * my feelings became too intense, too excessive, for endurance, and I resolved on vengeance—I resolved that the lives of the instigators should be the requiem to the souls of the murdered innocents.

"In this mood I met with George Edwards. And, if any doubt should remain on the minds of the public, whether the deed I meditated was virtuous, or contrary, the tale I will now relate will convince them, that, in attempting to exercise a power which the law had ceased to have, I was only wreaking national vengeance on a set of wretches unworthy the name or character of men. This Edwards, poor and pennyless, lived near Picket-street, in the Strand, some time ago, without a bed to lie upon, or a chair to sit in. Straw was his resting place; his only covering a blanket. Owing to his bad character, and his swindling conduct, he was driven from thence by his landlord. It is not my intention to trace him through his immorality—suffice it to say, that he was, in every sense of the word, a villain of the deepest atrocity. His landlord refused to give him a character. Some short time after this, he called upon his landlord again; but, mark the change in his appearance—dressed like a lord, in all the folly of the reigning fashion. He now described himself as the right heir to a German baron, who had been some time dead; that lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth had acknowledged his claims to the title and property, had interfered in his behalf with the German government, and supplied him with money to support

his rank in society. From this period I date his career as a government spy."

On the 1st of May, Thistlewood, Tidd, Brunt, Ings, and Dawson, were hung, and afterwards decapitated, at the Old Bailey.

Mr. Canning's conduct in this affair was uniformly mild and considerate. When he heard the expressions of Preston, (who said, he possessed a finer genius than any republican, &c. &c.) he said, "Either that man is naturally silly, or temporarily deranged; he is too ignorant to be dangerous; and, Heaven forbid that he should be the victim of his own folly." Preston was *discharged* from custody, the day after sentence was passed on Thistlewood!

It is not to be supposed that the opinions of such wretched creatures as those who paid the penalty of their crimes on the 1st of May, could have any influence on public opinion, or that their invectives could have any weight in throwing a stigma on public men; but the *silence* of such men is expressive; if, amid all their complainings—if, amongst all their execrations, we uniformly find the name of Canning omitted, it is a strong fact—that malice could not find a pretence for calumny. It did not arise from the obscurity of the minister, for he had been actively employed in a variety of departments. We have been diffuse in our accounts of this and some other transactions, because they tend to elucidate the fact, that Canning's public conduct could not be censured, even by those who passed their lives in accusing men in power; and who would seize upon the slightest errors, and magnify them into crimes. CANNING'S CONDUCT WAS NEVER IMPUGNED.—In the public clamour of a riotous mob, his name was not uttered with execration; the voices of

conspirators, who vented their curses on almost all other members of the Cabinet, did not venture to breathe aught against him. These facts are proud but melancholy corroborations of the universal opinion, that our hero only came into power too late.

The questions that subsequently arose, as to the employment of Edwards as a spy, &c. it will be in the recollection of our readers, applied to two noble lords, now no more; and that no exercise of ingenuity could attach any charge of this nature, in the most remote manner, to our hero.

On the 8th of March, 1820, Mr. Canning was again nominated for Liverpool, and Dr. Crompton and Mr. Leyland were announced as his opponents. Mr. Rushton made a powerful attack on Mr. Canning. Dr. Crompton, in his first speech, said, after many severe animadversions on Mr. Canning's conduct,—

"The impartial page of history informs us that Nero fiddled whilst Rome burned;—Mr. Canning smiled, when colonel Williams flashed his crimes in his face."

Mr. Canning, in reply, took occasion to explain his speech respecting Ogden and others, as follows:—

"From the enactments and debates of the last session, the honourable gentleman* has gone back still farther, to the discussions of a former session; and has taxed me, quite fairly I allow, and not uncivilly, though with all the vehemence with which it was natural that he should insist upon a topic which has been made, for some years, a subject of calumny against me. He has taxed me with certain expressions of mine, respecting the case of an individual taken up under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. I will state to the honourable gentleman, for he seems to be altogether uninformed of it, the course of my argument

* Mr. Rushton.

on that occasion. I was exposing the frauds and falsehoods which had been palmed upon the House of Commons in certain statements which had been made to them, and in certain petitions which had been presented from individuals, complaining of the treatment which they had endured under the Suspension Act. Of these falsehoods I selected three, as peculiarly gross and unjustifiable, and as, fortunately, susceptible of being brought to the test of the most decisive contradiction. The first, I recollect, related to a supposed spy, of the name, I think, of Dewhurst, who was represented to have been seen in a gig of sir John Byng's, at some specific time and place; the object of the falsehood being to implicate the military commander, and through him the government, in the transactions imputed to this man. On further examination it turned out, that of the two elements of this falsehood neither existed; that there was no such man as Dewhurst, and that sir John Byng had no gig. And I did humbly exhibit to the House of Commons the direct and complete falsification of this story, as a specimen of the devices by which the conduct of government and its agents had been belied. The second of the instances which I selected is not, at this moment, immediately present to my recollection. But the third is that to which the gentleman has alluded; and the particulars of which were as follow:—A petition had been presented from a man whose name he has mentioned, stating that the irons with which he had been loaded, when taken into custody, had brought on that complaint under which he described himself as labouring. It was distinctly stated in that petition, not that, having such a complaint upon him, he was nevertheless taken up, (as the gentleman seems to imagine,) but that the apprehension and restraint had *produced* on this poor man so terrible a calamity. The

petition went on to describe the process of an operation, rendered necessary in this case, with all the disgusting detail of chirurgical particularity. It was quite obvious, that this description was intended to inflame the minds of all who should hear it, against the supposed authors of the calamity under which the poor man laboured, and, by necessary inference, of the sufferings incident to the treatment of it. I made inquiry into the matter of this petition, and communications were voluntarily made to me, from which I learnt, to my infinite astonishment, that, so far from its being the effect of his irons, and the immediate consequence, therefore, of his confinement, the man had been afflicted with his complaint for about twenty years; and that, so far from being aggravated by his imprisonment, he had, during that imprisonment, been cured at the public expense. Nay, I learnt, on what I believed, and still believe, to be incontestable authority, that, in the first moment of his liberation, he had expressed his gratitude for the care which had been taken of him; and that it was not till some time afterwards, and upon mature reflection or advice, that he was induced to accuse government as the author of his long-standing disease. Could any thing be more gross than such an imposture? The calamity was itself grievous enough; but was it not shameful to ascribe to harsh and cruel treatment the result of natural infirmity? And, if I indignantly exposed the baseness of such a fraud, is it to be inferred that I was, more than any man who heard me then, or who hears me now, insensible to human suffering? Those who draw such an inference are guilty of a gross calumny against me. If, in expressing a just indignation at such a fraud, any words escaped me which could, in any fair mind, be liable to a misconstruction, I am sorry for it; but I bate no jot of the indigna-

tion which I then expressed. I think now, as I thought then, that this case, in the shape in which it was brought before the House of Commons, was a foul and wicked attempt to mislead and to inflame. To that statement I immoveably adhere.

"I am not aware that there remains any other point upon which I have been required by any gentleman present to give a categorical answer.

"My new antagonist, indeed, has touched upon a variety of general topics, into which I am not disposed to follow him; but he has addressed nothing personally to me, except some vague, and, I do assure him, most exaggerated apprehensions of the treatment which he may expect at my hands. I have already assured you, sir, that on the present occasion I had no intention of saying any thing: but even my silence was not safe from the scrutinizing jealousy of the worthy doctor; for, it seems, he discerned something in my looks, while the honourable colonel was speaking, which alarmed him for the colonel's safety and his own. I smiled. If I did so, I assure him it was a smile of complacency, or, perhaps, of amusement, but in no degree of contumely or evil intention. The honourable doctor, indeed, has tempted me somewhat high, with his references to ancient history,—with his allusion to the conflagration of Rome, and to the emperor Nero's musical accomplishments. Of that allusion I have not, to this moment, made out the application; but if he intended (which seems the most probable solution of it) to compare the honourable colonel's eloquence to a conflagration, and his own to a musical instrument, I have only to hope, that if I offended by smiling at the colonel's fire, I may have made atonement by looking grave at the doctor's fiddling.

"My worthy antagonist will, I am sure, see how vain

are all his apprehensions of any hostile aggression on my part. Attacked, indeed, I might possibly think it my duty to show him that raillery is a game which two can play at. But, even without the solemnity of the adjuration which he has addressed to me, as one in the habit of sparing nothing, either sacred or human, I assure him he has nothing to fear. I do not, indeed, know that there is any thing sacred about the doctor; but, as merely human, I shall be contented to abstain from him, so long as that abstinence is mutual. And I assure him most seriously, that if there is, as I trust there will not be, any want of courtesy and good humour between us, in the course of our competition, that deficiency shall not be first shown on my side."

The account of several circumstances have been condensed, to afford space for Mr. Canning's speech at the public dinner, given in honour of his election, 18th March, 1820. Though several of his other efforts, during this contest, demand notice, this speech is so pre-eminent for the soundness of its reasoning, the ingenuity of its arguments, as well as the force of its eloquence, that it claims admission entire.

" Gentlemen, short as the interval is since I last met you in this place, on a similar occasion, the events which have filled up that interval have not been unimportant. The great moral disease which we then talked of as gaining ground on the community has, since that period, arrived at its most extravagant height; and, since that period also, remedies have been applied to it, if not of permanent cure, at least of temporary mitigation.

" Gentlemen, with respect to those remedies,—I mean with respect to the transactions of the last short session of Parliament previous to the dissolution,—I feel that it is my duty, as your representative, to render to you some

account of the part which I took in that assembly to which you sent me; I feel it my duty also, as a member of the government by which those measures were advised. Upon occasions of such trying exigency as those which we have lately experienced, I hold it to be of the very essence of our free and popular constitution, that an unreserved interchange of sentiment should take place between the representative and his constituents; and if it accidentally happens, that he who addresses you as your representative, stands also in the situation of a responsible adviser of the Crown, I recognise in that more rare occurrence a not less striking or less valuable peculiarity of that constitution under which we have the happiness to live,—by which a minister of the Crown is brought into contact with the great body of the community; and the service of the King is shown to be a part of the service of the people.

"Gentlemen, it has been one advantage of the transactions of the last session of Parliament, that while they were addressed to meet the evils which had grown out of charges heaped upon the House of Commons, they have also, in a great measure, falsified the charges themselves.

"I would appeal to the recollection of every man who now hears me,—of any, the most careless estimator of public sentiment, or the most indifferent spectator of public events, whether any country, in any two epochs, however distant, of its history, ever presented such a contrast with itself as this country in November, 1819, and this country in February, 1820? What was the situation of the country in November, 1819? Do I exaggerate when I say, that there was not a man of property who did not tremble for his possessions?—that there was not a man of retired and peaceable habits who did not tremble for the tranquillity and security of his home?—that there

was not a man of orderly and religious principles who did not fear that those principles were about to be cut from under the feet of succeeding generations? Was there any man who did not apprehend the Crown to be in danger? Was there any man, attached to the other branches of the constitution, who did not contemplate with anxiety and dismay the rapid, and, apparently, irresistible diffusion of doctrines hostile to the very existence of Parliament as at present constituted, and calculated to excite, not hatred and contempt merely, but open and audacious force, especially against the House of Commons?—What is, in these respects, the situation of the country now? Is there a man of property who does not feel the tenure by which he holds his possessions to have been strengthened? Is there a man of peace who does not feel his domestic tranquillity to have been secured? Is there a man of moral and religious principles who does not look forward with better hope to see his children educated in those principles?—who does not hail, with renewed confidence, the revival and re-establishment of that moral and religious sense which had been attempted to be obliterated from the hearts of mankind?

"Well, gentlemen, and what has intervened between the two periods? A calling of that degraded Parliament; a meeting of that scoffed-at and derided House of Commons; a concurrence of those three branches of an imperfect constitution, not one of which, if we are to believe the radical reformers, lived in the hearts, or swayed the feelings, or commanded the respect, of the nation; but which, despised as they were while in a state of separation and inaction, did, by a co-operation of four short weeks, restore order, confidence, a reverence for the laws, and a just sense of their own legitimate authority.

"Another event, indeed, has intervened, in itself of a

most painful nature, but powerful in aiding and confirming the impressions which the assembling and the proceedings of Parliament were calculated to produce. I mean the loss which the nation has sustained by the death of a Sovereign, with whose person all that is venerable in monarchy has been identified in the eyes of successive generations of his subjects; a Sovereign whose goodness, whose years, whose sorrows and sufferings, must have softened the hearts of the most ferocious enemies of kingly power; whose active virtues, and the memory of whose virtues, when it pleased Divine Providence that they should be active no more, have been the guide and guardian of his people through many a weary and many a stormy pilgrimage; scarce less a guide, and quite as much a guardian, in the cloud of his evening darkness, as in the brightness of his meridian day.

"That such a loss, and the recollections and reflections naturally arising from it, must have had a tendency to revive and refresh the attachment to monarchy, and to root that attachment deeper in the hearts of the people, might easily be shown by reasoning; but a feeling truer than all reasoning anticipates the result, and renders the process of argument unnecessary. So far, therefore, has this great calamity brought with it its own compensation, and conspired to the restoration of peace throughout the country with the measures adopted by Parliament.

"And, gentlemen, what was the character of those measures?—The best eulogy of them I take to be this:—It may be said of them, as has been said of some of the most consummate productions of literary art, that, though no man beforehand had exactly anticipated the scope and the details of them, no man, when they were laid before him, did not feel that they were precisely such as he would himself have suggested. So faithfully adapted

to the case which they were framed to meet, so correctly adjusted to the degree and nature of the mischief they were intended to control, that, while we all feel that they have done their work, I think none will say there has been any thing in them of excess or supererogation.

"We were loudly assured by the reformers, that the test, throughout the country, by which those who were ambitious of seats in the new Parliament would be tried was to be—whether they had supported those measures. I have inquired, with as much diligence as was compatible with my duties here, after the proceedings of other elections; and I protest I know no place yet, besides the hustings of Westminster and Southwark, at which that menaced test has been put to any candidates. To me, indeed, it was not put as a test, but objected as a charge. You know how that charge was answered: and the result is to me a majority of 1300 out of 2000 voters upon the poll.

"But, gentlemen, though this question has not, as was threatened, been the watchword of popular elections, every other effort has, nevertheless, been industriously employed, to persuade the people that their liberties have been essentially abridged by the regulation of popular meetings. Against that one of the measures passed by Parliament it is that the attacks of the radical reformers have been particularly directed. Gentlemen, the first answer to this averment is, that the Act leaves untouched all the constitutional modes of assembly which have been known to the nation since it became free. We are fond of dating our freedom from the Revolution. I should be glad to know, in what period since the Revolution, (up to a very late period indeed, which I will specify,)—in what period of those reigns growing out of the Revolution—I mean, of the first reigns of the House of

Brunswick—did it enter into the head of man, that such meetings could be holden, or that the legislature would tolerate the holding of such meetings, as disgraced this kingdom for some months previous to the last session of Parliament? When, therefore, it is asserted, that such meetings were never before suppressed, the simple answer is,—they were never before systematically attempted to be holden.

"I verily believe, the first meeting of the kind that was ever attempted and tolerated (I know of none anterior to it) was that called by lord George Gordon, in St. George's Fields, in the year 1780, which led to the demolition of chapels and dwelling-houses, the breaking of prisons, and the conflagration of London. Was England never free till 1780? Did British liberty spring to light from the ashes of the metropolis? What! was there no freedom in the reign of George the Second? None in that of George the First? None in the reign of queen Anne, or of king William? Beyond the Revolution I will not go. But I have always heard, that British liberty was established long before the commencement of the late reign; nay, that in the late reign (according to popular politicians) it rather sunk and retrograded: and yet never till that reign was such an abuse of popular meetings dreamt of, much less erected into a right, not to be questioned by magistrates, and not to be controlled by Parliament.

"Do I deny, then, the general right of the people to meet, to petition, or to deliberate upon their grievances? God forbid! But social right is not a simple, abstract, positive, unqualified term. Rights are, in the same individual, to be compared with his duties; and rights in one person are to be balanced with the rights of others. Let us take this right of meeting in its most extended con-

struction and most absolute sense. The persons who called the meeting at Manchester tell you, that they had a right to collect together countless multitudes, to discuss the question of Parliamentary Reform; to collect them when they would, and where they would, without consent of magistrates, or concurrence of inhabitants, or reference to the comfort or convenience of the neighbourhood. May not the peaceable, the industrious inhabitant of Manchester say, on the other hand, 'I have a right to quiet in my house; I have a right to carry on my manufactory, on which not my existence only and that of my children, but that of my workmen and their numerous families, depends. I have a right to be protected in the exercise of this my lawful calling. I have a right to be protected, not against violence and plunder only, against fire and sword, but against the terror of these calamities, and against the risk of these inflictions; against the intimidation or séduction of my workmen; or against the distraction of that attention, and the interruption of that industry, without which neither they nor I can gain our livelihood. I call upon the laws to afford me that protection; and, if the laws in this country cannot afford it, depend upon it, I and my manufacturers must emigrate to some country where they can.' Here is a conflict of rights; between which, what is the decision? Which of the two claims is to give way? Can any reasonable being doubt? Can any honest man hesitate? Let private justice or public expediency decide, and can the decision by possibility be other, than that the peaceable and industrious shall be protected,—the turbulent and mischievous put down?

"But what similarity is there between tumults such as these and an orderly meeting, recognised by the law, for all legitimate purposes of discussion or petition? God forbid, that there should not be modes of assembly, by

which every class of this great nation may be brought together, to deliberate on any matters connected with their interest and their freedom. It is, however, an inversion of the natural order of things, it is a disturbance of the settled course of society, to represent discussion as every thing, and the ordinary occupations of life as nothing. To protect the peaceable in their ordinary occupations is as much the province of the laws, as to provide opportunities of discussion for every purpose to which it is necessary and properly applicable. The laws do both: but it is no part of the contrivance of the laws, that immense multitudes should wantonly be brought together, month after month, and day after day, in places where the very bringing together of a multitude is of itself the source of terror and of danger.

"It is no part of the provision of the laws, nor is it in the spirit of them, that such multitudes should be brought together at the will of unauthorised and irresponsible individuals, changing the scene of meeting as may suit their caprice or convenience, and fixing it where they have neither property, nor domicile, nor connexion. The spirit of the law goes directly the other way. It is, if I may so express myself, eminently a spirit of corporation. Counties, parishes, townships, guilds, professions, trades, and callings, form so many local and political subdivisions, into which the people of England are distributed by the law; and the pervading principle of the whole is that of vicinage or neighbourhood; by which each man is held to act under the view of his neighbours; to lend his aid to them, to borrow theirs; to share their councils, their duties, and their burdens; and to bear with them his share of responsibility for the acts of any of the members of the community of which he forms a part.

"Observe, I am not speaking here of the reviled and discredited statute law only, but of that venerable com-

mon law, to which our reformers are so fond of appealing on all occasions, against the statute law by which it is modified, explained, or enforced. Guided by the spirit of the one, no less than by the letter of the other, what man is there in this country who cannot point to the portion of society to which he belongs? If injury is sustained, upon whom is the injured person expressly entitled to come for redress? Upon the hundred, or the division in which he has sustained the injury. On what principle? On the principle, that as the individual is amenable to the division of the community to which he belongs, so neighbours are answerable for each other. Just laws, to be sure, and admirable equity, if a stranger is to collect a mob which is to set half Manchester on fire; and the burnt half is to come upon the other half for indemnity, while the stranger goes off, unquestioned, to excite the like tumult and produce the like danger elsewhere!

"That such was the nature, such the tendency, nay, that such, in all human probability, might have been the result of meetings like that of the 16th of August, who can deny? Who that weighs all the particulars of that day, comparing them with the rumours and the threats that preceded it, will dispute that such might have been the result of that very meeting, if that meeting, so very legally assembled, had not, by the decision of the magistrates, been so very illegally dispersed?

"It is, therefore, not in consonance, but in contradiction to the spirit of the law, that such meetings have been holden. The law prescribes a corporate character. The callers of these meetings have always studiously avoided it. No summons of freeholders—none of freemen—none of the inhabitants of particular places or parishes—no acknowledgment of local or political classification. Just so at the beginning of the French Revolu-

tion: the first work of the reformers was to loosen every established political relation, every legal holding of man to man; to destroy every corporation, to dissolve every subsisting class of society, and to reduce the nation into individuals, in order, afterwards, to congregate them into mobs.

"Let no person, therefore, run away with the notion, that these things were done without design. To bring together the inhabitants of a particular division, or men sharing a common franchise, is to bring together an assembly, of which the component parts act with some respect and awe of each other. Ancient habits, which the reformers would call prejudices; preconceived attachments, which they would call corruption; that mutual respect which makes the eye of a neighbour a security for each man's good conduct, but which the reformers would stigmatise as a confederacy among the few for dominion over their fellows:—all these things make men difficult to be moved, on the sudden, to any extravagant and violent enterprise. But bring together a multitude of individuals, having no permanent relation to each other,—no common tie, but what arises from their concurrence as members of that meeting, a tie dissolved as soon as the meeting is at an end;—in such an aggregation of individuals there is no such mutual respect, no such check upon the proceedings of each man from the awe of his neighbour's disapprobation; and, if ever a multitudinous assembly can be wrought up to purposes of mischief, it will be an assembly so composed.

"How monstrous is it to confound such meetings with the genuine and recognised modes of collecting the sense of the English people! Was it by meetings such as these that the Revolution was brought about, that grand event, to which our antagonists are so fond of referring? Was

it by meetings in St. George's Fields? in Spafields? in Smithfield? Was it by untold multitudes collected in a village in the north? No! It was by the meeting of corporations, in their corporate capacity;—by the assembly of recognised bodies of the state;—by the interchange of opinions among portions of the community known to each other, and capable of estimating each other's views and characters. Do we want a more striking mode of remedying grievances than this? Do we require a more animating example? And did it remain for the reformers of the present day to strike out the course by which alone Great Britain could make and keep herself free?

"Gentlemen, all power is, or ought to be, accompanied by responsibility. Tyranny is irresponsible power. This definition is equally true, whether the power be lodged in one or many;—whether in a despot, exempted by the form of government from the control of law; or in a mob, whose numbers put them beyond the reach of law. Idle, therefore, and absurd, to talk of freedom where a mob domineers! Idle, therefore, and absurd, to talk of liberty, when you hold your property, perhaps your life, not indeed at the nod of a despot, but at the will of an inflamed and infuriated populace! If, therefore, during the reign of terror at Manchester or at Spafields, there were persons in this country who had a right to complain of tyranny, it was they who loved the constitution, who loved the monarchy, but who dared not utter their opinions or their wishes until their houses were barricaded, and their children sent to a place of safety. That was tyranny! and, so far as the mobs were under the control of a leader, that was despotism! It was against that tyranny, it was against that despotism, that Parliament at length raised its arm.

"All power, I say, is vicious that is not accompanied

by proportionate responsibility. Personal responsibility prevents the abuse of individual power: responsibility of character is the security against the abuse of collective power, when exercised by bodies of men whose existence is permanent and defined. But strip such bodies of these qualities, you degrade them into multitudes, and then what security have you against anything that they may do or resolve, knowing that, from the moment at which the meeting is at an end, there is no human being responsible for their proceedings? The meeting at Manchester, the meeting at Birmingham, the meeting at Spafields or Smithfield, what pledge could they give to the nation of the soundness or sincerity of their designs? The local character of Manchester, the local character of Birmingham, was not pledged to any of the proceedings to which their names were appended. A certain number of ambulatory tribunes of the people, self-elected to that high function, assumed the name and authority of whatever place they thought proper to select for a place of meeting; their rostrum was pitched, sometimes here, sometimes there, according to the fancy of the mob, or the patience of the magistrates; but the proposition and the proposer were in all places nearly alike; and when, by a sort of political ventriloquism, the same voice had been made to issue from half-a-dozen different corners of the country, it was impudently assumed to be a concord of sweet sounds, composing the united voice of the people of England!

"Now, gentlemen, let us estimate the mighty mischief that has been done to liberty, by putting down meetings such as I have described. Let us ask, what lawful authority has been curtailed; let us ask, what respectable community has been defrauded of its franchise; let us ask, what municipal institutions have been violated by a

law which fixes the migratory complaint to the spot whence it professes to originate, and desires to hear of the grievance from those by whom that grievance is felt;—which leaves to Manchester, as Manchester, to Birmingham, as Birmingham, to London, as London, all the free scope of utterance which they have at any time enjoyed for making known their wants, their feelings, their wishes, their remonstrances;—which leaves to each of these divisions its separate authority,—to the union of all or of many of them the aggregate authority of such a consent and co-operation; but which denies to an itinerant hawker of grievances the power of stamping their names upon his wares;—of pretending, because he may raise an outcry *at* Manchester, or *at* Birmingham, that he therefore speaks the sense of the town which he disquiets and endangers; or, still more preposterously, that because he has disquieted and endangered half-a-dozen neighbourhoods in their turn, he is, therefore, the organ of them all, and, through them, of the whole British people.

"Such are the stupid fallacies which the law of the last session has extinguished! and such are the object and effect of the measures which British liberty is not to survive!

"To remedy the dreadful wound thus inflicted upon British liberty,—to restore to the people what the people have not lost,—to give a new impulse to that spirit of freedom which nothing has been done to embarrass or restrain, we are invited to alter the constitution of that assembly through which the people share in the legislature; in short, to make a radical reform in the House of Commons.

"It has always struck me as extraordinary, that there should be persons prepared to entertain the question of a

change in so important a member of the constitution, without considering in what way that change must affect the situation of the other members, and the action of the constitution itself.

"I have, on former occasions, stated here, and I have stated elsewhere, questions on this subject; to which, as yet, I have never received an answer. 'You who propose to reform the House of Commons, do you mean to restore that branch of the legislature to the same state in which it stood at some former period? or, do you mean to reconstruct it on new principles?'

"Perhaps a moderate reformer or whig will answer, that he means only to restore the House of Commons to what it was at some former period. I then beg to ask him,—and to that question, also, I have never yet received an answer,—'At what period of our history was the House of Commons in the state to which you wish to restore it?'

"The House of Commons must, for the purpose of clear argument, be considered in two views. First, with respect to its agency as a third part in the constitution: secondly, with respect to its composition, in relation to its constituents. As to its agency as a part of the constitution, I venture to say, without hazard, as I believe, of contradiction, that there is no period in the history of this country, in which the House of Commons will be found to have occupied so large a share of the functions of government as at present. Whatever else may be said of the House of Commons, this one point, at least, is indisputable, that, from the earliest infancy of the constitution, the power of the House of Commons has been growing, till it has almost, like the rod of Aaron, absorbed its fellows. I am not saying whether this is or is not as it ought to be. I am merely saying why I think

that it cannot be intended to complain of the want of power, and of a due share in the government, as the defect of the modern House of Commons.

"I admit, however, very willingly, that the greater share of power the House of Commons exercises, the more jealous we ought to be of its composition: and I presume, therefore, that it is in this respect, and in relation to its constituents, that the state of that House is contended to want revision. Well, then, at what period of our history was the composition of the House of Commons materially different from what it is at present? Is there any period of our history in which the rights of election were not as various, in which the influence of property was not as direct, in which recommendations of candidates were not as efficient, and some boroughs as close as they are now? I ask for information: but that information, plain and simple as it is, and necessary, one should think, to a clear understanding, much more to a grave decision of the point at issue, I never, though soliciting it with all humility, have ever yet been able to obtain from any reformer, radical, or whig.

"The radical reformer, indeed, to do him justice, is not bound to furnish me with an answer to this question; because, with *his* view of the matter, precedents (except one, which I shall mention presently) have nothing to do. The radical reformer would, probably, give to my first question an answer very different from that which I have supposed his moderate brother to give. He will tell me fairly, that he means not simply to bring the House of Commons back, either to the share of power which it formerly enjoyed, or to the modes of election by which it was formerly chosen; but to make it—what, according to him, it ought to be,—a direct, effectual representative of the people; representing them not as a delegate com-

missioned to take care of their interests, but as a deputy appointed to speak their will. Now, to this view of the matter I have no other objection than this:—that the British constitution is a limited monarchy; that a limited monarchy is, in the nature of things, a mixed government; but that such a House of Commons as the radical reformer requires, would, in effect, constitute a pure democracy; a power, as it appears to me, inconsistent with any monarchy, and unsusceptible of any limitation.

"I may have great respect for the person who theoretically prefers a republic to a monarchy. But, even supposing me to agree with him in his preference, I should have a preliminary question to discuss, by which he, perhaps, may not feel himself embarrassed; which is this:—Whether I, born as I am (and as *I* think it is my good fortune to be) under a monarchy, am quite at liberty to consider myself as having a clear stage for political experiments; whether I should be authorised, if I were convinced of the expediency of such a change, to withdraw monarchy altogether from the British constitution, and to substitute an unqualified democracy in its stead: or whether, whatever changes I may be desirous of introducing, I am not bound to consider the constitution which I find as at least circumscribing the range, and, in some measure, prescribing the nature, of the improvement.

"For my own part, I am, undoubtedly, prepared to uphold the ancient monarchy of the country, by arguments drawn from what I think the blessings which we have enjoyed under it; and by arguments of another sort, if arguments of another sort shall ever be brought against it. But all that I am now contending for is, that whatever reformation is proposed, should be considered with some reference to the established constitution of the country. That point being conceded to me, I have no

difficulty in saying, that I cannot conceive a constitution of which one-third part shall be an assembly delegated by the people,—not to consult for the good of the nation, but to speak, day by day, the people's will,—which must not, in a few days' sitting, sweep away every other branch of the constitution that might attempt to oppose or control it. I cannot conceive how, in fair reasoning, any other branch of the constitution should pretend to stand against it. If government be a matter of will, all that we have to do is to collect the will of the nation, and, having collected it by an adequate organ, that will is paramount and supreme. By what pretension could the House of Lords be maintained in equal authority and jurisdiction with the House of Commons, when once that House of Commons should become a direct deputation, speaking the people's will, and that will the rule of the government? In one way or other the House of Lords must act, if it be to remain a concurrent branch of the legislature. Either it must uniformly affirm the measures which come from the House of Commons, or it must, occasionally, take the liberty to reject them. If it uniformly affirm, it is without the shadow of authority. But to presume to reject an act of the deputies of the whole nation!—by what assumption of right could three or four hundred great proprietors set themselves against the national will? Grant the reformers, then, what they ask, on the principles on which they ask it, and it is utterly impossible that, after such a reform, the constitution should long consist of more than one body, and that one body a popular assembly.

"Why, gentlemen, is this theory? or is it a theory of mine? If there be, among those who hear me, any man who has been (as in the generous enthusiasm of youth any man may blamelessly have been) bitten by the doc-

trines of reform, I implore him, before he goes forward in his progress to embrace those doctrines in their radical extent, to turn to the history of the transactions in this country, in the year 1648, and to examine the bearings of those transactions on this very question of Radical Reform. He will find, gentlemen, that the House of Commons of that day passed the following resolution:—

"'Resolved, that the people are, under God, the original of all just power.'

"Well!—can any sentiment be more just and reasonable? Is it not the foundation of all the liberties of mankind? Be it so. Let us proceed. The House of Commons followed up this resolution by a second, which runs in something like these terms:—

"'Resolved, That the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being chosen by and representing the people, *have the supreme authority* of this nation.'

"In this resolution the leap is taken. Do the radical reformers deny the premises or the inference? or do they adopt the whole of the tempting precedent before them?

"But the inference did not stop there. The House of Commons proceeded to deduce, from these propositions, an inference, the apparently logical dependance of which upon these propositions I wish I could see logically disproved.

"'Resolved, (without one dissenting voice,) That whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, *although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.*'

"Such was the theory: the practical inferences were not tardy in their arrival, after the theory. In a few

weeks the House of Peers* was voted useless. We all know what became of the Crown.

"Such, I say, were the radical doctrines of 1648, and such the consequences to which they naturally led. If we are induced to admit the same premises now, who is it, I should be glad to know, that is to guarantee us against similar conclusions?

"These, then, are the reasons why I look with jealousy at schemes of Parliamentary Reform. I look at them with still more jealousy, because, in one of the two classes of men who co-operate in support of that question, I never yet found any two individuals who held the same doctrines; I never yet heard any intelligible theory of reform, except that of the radical reformers. Theirs, indeed, it is easy enough to understand. But as for theirs I certainly am not yet fully prepared. I, for my part, will not consent to take one step, without knowing on what principle I am invited to take it, and (which is, perhaps, of more consequence) without declaring on what principle I will *not* consent that any step, however harmless, shall be taken.

"What more harmless than to disfranchise a corrupt borough in Cornwall, which has exercised its franchise amiss, and brought shame on itself, and on the system of which it is a part?—Nothing. I have no sort of objection to doing, as Parliament has often done in such cases, (supposing always the case to be proved,)—to disfranchising the borough, and rendering it incapable of abusing

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" * The same day (January 30, 1648-9) the Lords desired a conference with the Commons about settling the government, and the administration of justice, the judges' commissions being determined by the death of the King. The Commons, without answering the messenger, voted the Lords to be useless and dangerous, and, therefore, to be abolished."—*Rapin's Hist. of England.*

its franchise in future. But, though I have no objection to doing this, I will *not* do it on the principle of speculative improvement. I do it on the principle of specific punishment for an offence. And I will take good care, that no inference shall be drawn from my consent in this specific case, as to any sweeping concurrence in a scheme of general alteration.

"Nay, I should think it highly disingenuous to suffer the radical reformers to imagine that they had gained a single step towards the admission of their theory, by any such instance of particular animadversion on proved misconduct. I consent to such disfranchisement; but I do so, not with a view of furthering the radical system—rather of thwarting it. I am willing to wipe out any blot in the present system, because I mean the present system to stand. I will take away a franchise, because it has been practically abused; not because I am at all disposed to inquire into the origin, or to discuss the utility of all such franchises, any more than I mean to inquire, gentlemen, into your titles to your estates. Disfranchising Grampound, (if that is to be so,) I mean to save Old Sarum.

"Now, sir, I think I deal fairly with the radical reformers;—more fairly than those who would suffer it to be supposed by them, that the disfranchisement of Grampound is to be the beginning of a system of reform: while they know, and I hope mean as well as I do, *not* to reform (in the sense of change) but to preserve the constitution. I would not delude the reformers, if I could; and it is quite useless to attempt a delusion upon persons quite as sagacious in their generation as any moderate reformers or anti-reformers of us all. They know full well, that the whigs have no more notion than I have of parting with the close boroughs. Not they, indeed! A

large, and perhaps the larger, part of them are in their hands. Why, in the assembly to which you send me, gentlemen, some of those who sit on the same side with me represent, to be sure, less popular places than Liverpool,—but on the bench immediately over against me, I descry, among the most eminent of our rivals for power, scarce any other sort of representatives than members for close, or, if you will, for rotten boroughs. To suppose, therefore, that our political opponents have any thoughts of getting rid of the close boroughs, would be a gross delusion; and, I have no doubt, they will be quite as fair and open with the reformers on this point as I am.

"And why, gentlemen, is it that I am satisfied with a system which, it is said, no man can support, who is not in love with corruption? Is it that I, more than any other man, am afraid to face a popular election? To the last question you can give the answer. To the former, I will answer for myself. I do verily believe, as I have already said, that a complete and perfect democratical representation, such as the reformers aim at, cannot exist as part of a mixed government. It may exist, and, for aught I know or care, may exist beneficially as a whole. But I am not sent to Parliament to inquire into the question, whether a democracy or a monarchy be the best. My lot is cast under the British monarchy. Under that I have lived,—under that I have seen my country flourish,—under that I have seen it enjoy as great a share of prosperity, of happiness, and of glory, as I believe any modification of human society to be capable of bestowing; and I am not prepared to sacrifice or to hazard the fruit of centuries of experience, of centuries of struggles, and of more than one century of liberty, as perfect as ever blessed any country upon the earth, for visionary

schemes of ideal perfectibility, or for doubtful experiments even of possible improvement.

"I am, therefore, for the House of Commons as a part, and not as the whole, of the government. And, as a part of the government, I hold it to be frantic to suppose, that, from the election of members of Parliament, you can altogether exclude, by any contrivance, even if it were desirable to do so, the influence of property, rank, talents, family connexion, and whatever else, in the radical language of the day, is considered as intimidation or corruption. I believe, that if a reform, to the extent of that demanded by the radical reformers, were granted, you would, before an annual election came round, find that there were new connexions grown up which you must again destroy; new influence acquired which you must dispossess of its authority; and that in these fruitless attempts at unattainable purity, you were working against the natural current of human nature.

"I believe, therefore, that, contrive how you will, some such human motives of action will find room to operate in the election of members of Parliament. I think that this must and ought to be so, unless you mean to exclude from the concerns of the nation all inert wealth, all inactive talent,—the retired, the aged, and the infirm,—all who cannot face popular assemblies, or engage in busy life; in short, unless you have found some expedient for disarming property of influence, without (what I hope we are not yet ripe for) the abolition of property itself.

"I would have by choice—if the choice were yet to be made—I would have in the House of Commons great variety of interests, and I would have them find their

way there by a great variety of rights of election; satisfied that uniformity of election would produce any thing but a just representation of various interests. As to the close boroughs, I know that through them have found their way into the House of Commons men whose talents have been an honour to their kind, and whose names are interwoven with the brightest periods in the history of their country. I cannot think that system altogether vicious which has produced such fruits. Nor can I think that there should be but one road into that assembly, or that no man should be presumed fit for the deliberations of a senate, who has not had the nerves previously to face the storms of the hustings.

"I need not say, gentlemen, that I am one of the last men to disparage the utility and dignity of popular elections. I have good cause to speak of them in far different language. But, among numberless other considerations, which endear to me the favours which I have received at your hands, I confess it is one, that, as your representative, I am enabled to speak my genuine sentiments on this (as I think it) vital question of Parliamentary Reform, without the imputation of shrinking from popular canvass, or of seeking shelter for myself in that species of representation which, as an element in the composition of Parliament, I never shall cease to defend.

"In truth, gentlemen, though the question of reform is made the pretext of those persons who have vexed the country for some months, I verily believe, that there are very few even of them, who either give credit to their own exaggerations, or care much about the improvements which they recommend. Why, do we not see that the most violent of the reformers of the day are aiming at seats in that assembly, which, according to

their own theories, they should have left to wallow in its own pollution, discountenanced and unredeemed? It is true, that if they found their way there, they might endeavour to bring us to a sense of our misdeeds, and to urge us to redeem our character by some self-condemning ordinance; but would not the authority of their names, as our associates, have more than counterbalanced the force of their eloquence as our reformers?

"But, gentlemen, I am for the whole constitution. The liberty of the subject as much depends on the maintenance of the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, —on the acknowledgment of the legitimate power of the other House of Parliament, as it does in upholding that supreme power (for such is the power of the purse, in one sense of the word, though not in the sense of the resolution of 1648) which resides in the democratical branch of the constitution. Whatever beyond its just proportion was gained by one part, would be gained at the expense of the whole; and the balance is now, perhaps, as nearly poised as human wisdom can adjust it. I fear to touch that balance, the disturbance of which must bring confusion on the nation.

"Gentlemen, I trust there are few, very few, reasonable and enlightened men ready to lend themselves to projects of confusion. But, I confess, I very much wish, that all who are not ready to do so, would consider the ill effect of any countenance given, publicly or by apparent implication, to those whom, in their hearts and judgments, they despise. I remember that most excellent and able man, Mr. Wilberforce, once saying, in the House of Commons, that he 'never believed an opposition really to wish mischief to the country; that they only wished just so much mischief as might drive their

opponents out, and place themselves in their room.'—Now, gentlemen, I cannot help thinking, that there are some persons tampering with the question of reform something in the same spirit. They do not go so far as the reformers; they even state irreconcilable differences of opinion; but, to a certain extent, they agree, and even co-operate with them. They co-operate with them in inflaming the public feeling, not only against the government, but against the support given by Parliament to that government, in the hope, no doubt, of attracting to themselves the popularity which is lost to their opponents, and thus being enabled to correct and retrieve the errors of a displaced administration. Vain and hopeless task, to raise such a spirit and then to govern it! They may stimulate the steeds into fury, till the chariot is hurried to the brink of a precipice; but do they flatter themselves that they can then leap in, and, hurling the incompetent driver from his seat, check the reins just in time to turn from the precipice and avoid the fall?—I fear they would attempt it in vain. The impulse, once given, may be too impetuous to be controlled; and, intending only to change the guidance of the machine, they may hurry it and themselves to irretrievable destruction.

"May every man who has a stake in the country, whether from situation, from character, from wealth, from his family, and from the hopes of his children,—may every man who has a sense of the blessings for which he is indebted to the form of government under which he lives, see that the time is come, at which his decision must be taken, and, when once taken, steadfastly acted upon,—for or against the institutions of the British monarchy! The time is come at which there is but that line of demarcation. On which side of that

line we, gentlemen, shall range ourselves, our choice has long ago been made. In acting upon that our common choice, with my best efforts and exertions, I shall at once faithfully represent your sentiments, and satisfy my own judgment and conscience."

Having thus concluded a brief view of the circumstances cotemporaneous with the unhappy affair of the Queen, we shall explain the reasons of Mr. Canning's retirement from office; which took place virtually about May, 1820, although he did not actually resign the seals until the December of that year. Happily, Mr. Canning has, in this instance, been his own biographer. The following letter to one of his constituents contains a full explanation of the period and manner of his resignation. To this letter we particularly and earnestly call the attention of the reader; it is an important document, reflecting equal credit on the Minister and his Sovereign.

"Tuddenham, Norfolk, Dec. 22, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I left town on Wednesday, a few minutes after I had written to you, not thinking that I should be quite so soon set at liberty to make to you the communication promised in my letter of that morning. I had hitherto forborne to make the communication, in order that I might not any way embarrass others by a premature disclosure; and I certainly expected, in return, due notice of the time when it might suit them that the disclosure should be made. I have no doubt that the omission of such notice has been a mere oversight. I regret it only as it has prevented me from anticipating, with you and the rest of my friends at Liverpool, the announcement in a newspaper, of an event in which I know your kind partiality will induce you to feel a lively interest. The facts stated in *The Courier* of Wednesday evening, are stated in substance correctly. I have resigned my office. My motives for separating myself from the government, (however reluctantly at a conjuncture like the present,) is to be found solely in the proceedings and pending 'discussions' respecting the Queen. There is (as *The Courier* justly assumes) but this 'one point of difference' between

my colleagues and myself. Those who may have done me the honour to observe my conduct in this unhappy affair from the beginning, will recollect that on the first occasion on which it was brought forward in the House of Commons, I declared my determination to take as little part as possible in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. The declaration was made advisedly. It was made, not only after full communication with my colleagues, but as an alternative suggested on their part for my then retirement from the administration. So long as there was a hope of amicable adjustment, my continuance in the administration might possibly be advantageous: that hope was finally extinguished by the failure of Mr. Wilberforce's address. On the same day on which the Queen's answer to that address was received by the House of Commons, I asked an audience of the King; and at that audience, (which I obtained the following day,) after respectfully repeating to his Majesty the declaration which I had made a fortnight before in the House of Commons, and stating the impossibility of my departing from it, I felt it my duty humbly to lay at his Majesty's feet the tender of my resignation.

"The King, with a generosity which I can never sufficiently acknowledge, commanded me to remain in his service, abstaining as completely as I might think fit from any share in the proceedings respecting the Queen, and *gave me full authority to plead his Majesty's* EXPRESS COMMAND for so continuing in office.

"No occasion subsequently occurred in Parliament (at least, no adequate occasion) for availing myself of the use of this authority, and I should have thought myself inexcusable in seeking an occasion for the purpose; but, from the moment of my receiving his Majesty's gracious commands, I abstained entirely *from all interference on the subject of the Queen's affairs.* I did not attend any meetings of the Cabinet upon that subject. I had no share whatever in preparing or approving the Bill of Pains and Penalties. I was (as you know) absent from England during the whole progress of that Bill, and returned only after it had been withdrawn.

"The new state in which I found the proceedings upon my return to England, required the most serious consideration; it was one to which I could not conceive the King's command, of June, to be applicable. For a minister to absent himself altogether from the expected discussions in the House of Commons, intermixed as they were likely to be with the general business of the session, appeared to me quite impossible. To be present, as a minister taking no part in those discussions, could only be productive of

embarrassment to myself, and of perplexity to my colleagues. To take any part in them was now, as always, out of the question.

"For these difficulties I saw no remedy, except in the humble but earnest renewal to my sovereign of the tender of my resignation, which has been now as most graciously accepted, as it was in the former instance indulgently declined.

"If some weeks have elapsed since my return to England, before I could arrive at this practical result, the interval has been chiefly employed in reconciling, or endeavouring to reconcile, my colleagues to a step taken by me in a spirit of the most perfect amity, and tending (in my judgment) as much to their relief as to my own.

"It remains for me only to add, that, having purchased, by the surrender of my office, the liberty of continuing to act in consistency with my original declaration, it is now my intention (but an intention perfectly gratuitous, and one which I hold myself completely free to vary, if I shall at any time see occasion for so doing) to be absent from England again, until the agitation of this calamitous affair shall be at an end.

"I am, &c. &c. &c.

"GEORGE CANNING."

The letter concluded with protestations of his undiminished attention to the local interests of Liverpool.

Mr. Canning's resignation of office, and, indeed, the whole of his conduct throughout the imputation on, investigation regarding, and trial of, the Queen, became subjected to inquiry and censure by one party in, and scarcely afforded satisfaction to any portion of, the empire; but this will not be matter of surprise to the thinking part of the community. To be popular is not always to be right. It matters not now to the subject of this Memoir, whether his conduct was the result of accurate judgment, or of hasty determination. He, who resigned, and she, who caused that resignation, lie, alike regardless of all praise,—of all censure: but it is essential to the fame of Canning, that the motives of his conduct should be explained; at least, as far as it is possible to draw inferences and conclusions from the circumstances

of the case, and the characters of the individuals involved in it. Canning's share in all that affected the Queen, was considerable. First, obscurely alluded to as her favourite; then, appearing as her advocate; next, employed by the King (George the Third) to investigate her conduct; afterwards, becoming her adviser; again, appearing as her advocate, when she came to claim her right to coronation; and then suddenly resigning his official situation, and declining any part in the contest. The question appears to resolve itself into two points. That is:—Either the Queen was guilty, or innocent. If guilty, *he* should have punished guilt;—if innocent, he should have defended innocence. By abstaining from all interference, he, on the one presumption, tacitly approved of vice; or, on the other, forsook the advocation of virtue. Real questions cannot be thus isolated: in this world, where vice and virtue are so intermingled,—where golden reputations are infected with so much alloy, that there is scarcely any divisibility of character;—in such a state of existence, it is almost impossible to reduce characters or questions to such general or single points. Suppose the Queen to have been *indiscreet*, but not *vicious;*—to have committed *errors*, but not *crimes;*—to have admitted improper freedoms in a domestic, without having levelled herself to the station of his paramour:—Suppose this case, how should our hero have behaved? Should he have punished her for her follies, by a proceeding directed against her supposed crimes; or, on the other hand, should he have attempted to extenuate errors, that he *knew to exist*, merely because she was accused of greater ones which did not? Or, did he act more wisely, by forsaking a prosecution which, if successful, would involve a punishment too severe for the crime, and avoiding an advocacy where he could not

believe in the total innocence of the accused? We think few will hesitate in approving the step Mr. Canning pursued. The trial of the Queen of England has nothing in common with the trial of a subject. If A. be tried for murder, and, on his trial, it appear that he has been guilty of manslaughter only, reason and law alike acquit him;—he shall not be punished for the greater, when only really guilty of the lesser, crime. But the *nature* of the *charge*, and the station of the individual, rendered the Queen's case totally different. If she had descended to intimate communion with those so far beneath her—if she had yielded to the weakness of her sex, and coquetted with those she was born to command—she had done all;—for she had compromised her own dignity, and her husband's; and, through him, the dignity of the country. The advocate, therefore, that had been forced to admit her errors on these points, must have given up her case at once. She who disregards a country, has no claim to govern it—she who cannot support dignity, has no pretence to aspire to it—she who degrades her station as a woman—would be little likely to adorn it as a queen. Had Canning, acceding to the wishes of the warmest friends of the Queen, entered the House to defend her, could he, whilst he admitted her errors and derelictions, support her claim to coronation? Could he say, she has derogated from the dignity of her station as princess, and for that reason we should crown her as queen? No. By sacrificing the principles of truth and of justice only could Mr. Canning take any part in the proceedings, either for or against the Queen. He sacrificed his present interest, nay, in all probability, his future hopes, to his love of justice and of truth; and gave up fortune and favour, to secure the purity of his principles. His conduct was as noble as judicious; and will receive the meed

of praise, when his detractors and their productions are forgotten.

Mr. Canning, though abstaining from any interference in this matter, did not neglect his parliamentary duties; and spoke at great length upon the Catholic Question, which was agitated about this period. Space permits the extraction of only a few sentences, which are too forcible for omission. The only apology for the unconnected form in which these remarks appear, is, that they have been condensed, to afford space for other speeches of Mr. Canning, that have a yet superior claim to insertion.

"For two centuries, the Catholics have been brooding patiently over their wrongs, and, like the Brutus of history, disguising, under the appearance of insensibility, the deep sense with which they entertained them. To suppose that they were only waiting the passing of this Bill, to wreak the vengeance which has so long been smothered in their breasts, is an idea which nothing but absurd fear could propagate."

* * * *

"Ireland now sits in the Representative Assembly of the empire; and, when she is allowed to come there, why is she not also allowed to elect members for it, from her Catholic children? For three centuries, we have been erecting *mounds*, not to assist or improve, but to thwart Nature: we have raised them high above the waters: and they have stood for many a year, frowning proud defiance upon all who attempted to cross them; but, in the course of ages, even they have been nearly broken down, and the narrow isthmus which they now form, stands between two kindred seas; the fountains see each other, and would fain meet. Shall we fortify the mounds which are now almost in ruins, or shall we leave them to moulder away by time or accident—an event which, though

distant, must happen; and which, when it does, will only confer a thankless favour? Or shall we cut away at once the isthmus that remains, and float upon the mingling wave the ark of our common constitution."

* * * *

"With the established religion of the country, the Roman Catholics must, of course, have nothing to do. None but those who profess the established religion of the state, ought to pretend to the exercise of any functions *immediately* connected with that religion, or the ecclesiastical system in which it is embodied."

* * * *

"We are in the enjoyment of a peace, in a great degree achieved by Catholic arms, and cemented by Catholic blood."

* * * *

On the second reading he also spoke at great length, and from this speech the following brief extracts are taken.

"It has been said, that we are not to open the door to an evil which, if once admitted, may not easily be removed. A lion is in the lobby: if admitted, we may not be able to get him out. The peers are few, but the commoners would overturn the Protestant faith. They are in such masses at the door, ready to enter, that we dare not open the door, for fear of this many-headed Catholic monster. The peers cannot be admitted to possession of their rights, to sit in the Peers' House, which, in fact, was only suspended; for the forms were adhered to, while the substance was suspended, for fear of ruin to the constitution. Is it possible to conceive this exclusion necessary? Are the Howards and the Talbots so degraded from the character of their ancestors, that the constitution would not be safe, if they were admitted to

their seats? To make the supposition of danger plausible, it is necessary, first, that the Catholic members should be returned in great numbers; secondly, that they should combine; and thirdly, that they should manage with such dexterity, as to induce the Government or the Monarch to join in their combination. Some persons have such an antipathy to cats, that they are sensible of the entrance of one to a room, before they have seen where it is perched. Now, I never felt annoyed at finding myself seated next a dissenter. I really could feel no apprehension of that sensitive and unaccountable kind. I will grant, for the argument, that one hundred Catholic members should be returned, partly from Ireland and partly from England—I will grant that they combine—I will grant that they would combine for overturning the ecclesiastical establishment—but, granting all this, I ask, how are they to go about it? It must be, first, by force of reasoning; second, by force of numbers; or, third, by force alone. Is it then to be gravely stated, that the eloquence of the one hundred members would succeed in persuading gentlemen attached to the Protestant establishment, to join them in destroying it, in order to make way for the magnificent edifice of mitred popery? Can any one believe, that the members who might, in consequence of this Bill, be admitted to seats in Parliament, would move such a project? Or, can any one suppose, for a moment, that the slightest motion that had such an end in view, would not be immediately resisted in Parliament, as futile and impracticable?"

* * * *

"The question with respect to numbers, is as hopeless as the chance of success in either of the cases I have alluded to; but, suppose there was any danger from the

Catholics, from force alone, is the rejection of the present measure the best means of calming any ebullition of that kind out of doors? Is it the safest remedy to say to the Catholics, 'We shut our doors upon you for ever?' "

In 1822, the directors of the East India Company appointed Mr. Canning Governor-General of India. He accepted the appointment, to the regret of those who thought that his loss to this country could not be compensated by his services, however great, in another. When Mr. Canning had definitely settled the period of his departure, he paid a farewell visit to his Liverpool friends. An address, expressive of the sense of the inhabitants of Liverpool of his high talent, active exertions for his country, and his attention to the interest of his constituents in particular, was delivered to him, in which the following associations joined:—

American Chamber of Commerce,
Association of West India Planters and Merchants.
——————— Under Writers,
——————— Ship Owners,
——————— the Corn Exchange,
——————— Salt Shippers; and the
Portugal, Brazil, South American and Mexican, East Indian, Irish, and the Baltic, Associations.

On this occasion, a piece of plate was presented to Mr. Canning, of which the following description was given by the press of that town.

"It is a centre ornament, or candelabrum, forty-two inches high, and upwards of sixty in circumference at the base. It is silver gilt, and weighs upwards of one thousand ounces. The base is in the tripod form, and rests upon three tortoises. In the plinth are three compartments, six inches wide by two and a half high. The

first compartment contains a view of the port of Liverpool. A ship under sail appears in the foreground of the picture, and in the background George's Dock Pierhead, with St. Nicholas's Church, the Town-hall, St. Paul's, St. George's, and St. Thomas's Churches in the distance. The second compartment contains a representation of a section of the Town-hall. The scene chosen is that of an election. Hustings are erected in the front: bars for several candidates are open: a crowd of spectators is congregated before them; and a coach, filled with voters in the interest of Mr. Canning, accompanied with music and flags, the latter having inscribed on them, '*The British Constitution*,' '*The Friend of the Pilot that weather'd the Storm*,' '*Canning for ever!*' &c., is represented in the act of approaching his bar. The right honourable gentleman appears in the centre, surrounded by his friends, in the act of addressing the multitude of spectators, some of whom are elevated upon the hustings, loudly cheering their favourite candidate. The '*State of the Poll*' appears on the side of Mr. Canning's bar; and, in the distance, the lofty buildings on the north side of Dale Street are seen, their windows and roofs crowded with spectators, surveying the animated scene beneath. The third compartment exhibits a view of the interior of the House of Commons, the theatre in which Mr. Canning so often displays his great and unrivalled talents. The Speaker is in the chair: the mace is on the table before him: the benches are crowded with members; and Mr. Canning is represented as standing on the floor, in the act of addressing the chair. The base of the pedestal represents a coral rock. Upon it, at the angles, are seated three beautiful classic figures, under palm-tree leaves. The first figure is emblematical of SCIENCE. In her hand she holds a book, written in Oriental charac-

ters, which she is in the act of perusing. At her feet are spread a variety of appropriate scientific instruments and symbols. The second figure is a personification of NAVIGATION. The compass rests upon her knee; and in her hand she holds the log-line and lead. On the right, at her feet, a staff, with a union jack on it, an anchor and cable, a rudder, a capstern, and other nautical emblems are appropriately disposed: on the right, a buoy. COMMERCE is the third figure. She holds in her right hand a laurel crown, and in her left a palm branch, emblematic of the peace and harmony which commercial intercourse creates amongst the different nations of the globe. Various appropriate symbols are displayed at her feet also. On the right appear a bale of goods and other articles of commercial traffic: on the left, a cornucopia, or horn of plenty, the caduceus, &c. &c. These three personifications of the Genius of Science, of Navigation, and of Commerce, are exquisitely beautiful. The figures are most chastely executed, and the drapery is well disposed. They are amongst the most prominent excellences of the design. On the pedestal, between these figures, are three tablets. The first tablet exhibits the arms of the borough of Liverpool, tastefully executed. The next displays Mr. Canning's arms, richly embossed, with the motto—*Ne cede malis sed contra.* The third contains the inscription, very neatly executed, on a flat gold field, in raised bright letters. It is as follows:—

'PRESENTED
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE CANNING,
BY A NUMEROUS BODY OF HIS FRIENDS,
FREEMEN AND INHABITANTS OF
LIVERPOOL,
ON HIS BEING APPOINTED GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,
JULY, 1822,
IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF HIS ZEALOUS AND IMPARTIAL ATTENTION
TO THE INTERESTS OF ALL HIS CONSTITUENTS,
FOR A PERIOD OF TEN YEARS,
IN THE COURSE OF WHICH
HE HAS BEEN FOUR TIMES ELECTED
THEIR REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT;
AND IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR RESPECT,
AS WELL FOR HIS PRIVATE VIRTUES
AS FOR HIS DISINTERESTED AND INDEPENDENT
PUBLIC CONDUCT;
AND OF THEIR ADMIRATION
OF THOSE TRANSCENDANT TALENTS,
AS A STATESMAN AND AN ORATOR,
WITH WHICH HE HAS UNIFORMLY AND FEARLESSLY
MAINTAINED THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF
THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.'

"A handsome fluted naval column springs from the pedestal. Its base is begirt with a cable; and three dolphins are represented disporting themselves at the angles. On the upper part of the column, and surrounding it, are inscribed, 'Election of 1812,' 'Election of 1816,' 'Election of 1818,' 'Election of 1820;' the four periods at which Mr. Canning was returned to Parliament as representative of Liverpool. Above these inscriptions appear the prows of three ships, with figure-

heads; the first representing a native of Asia, the second of Africa, and the third of America. The capital of the column is beautifully chaste. From it issue acanthus leaves; attached to which are branches for nine lights. The summit of the whole is crowned by a beautiful classic figure, emblematic of the Genius of Liverpool, her right hand resting on a ship's rudder, and her left on a broad and glittering shield, on which is depicted the fabulous bird, the LIVER. On her head she wears a mural crown; and her drapery falls in simple elegance over her finely proportioned form."

The design is by Mr. Chantry, and the execution of the work was entrusted to Messrs. Rundell and Bridge. We need not add, that, coming from such hands, it was a perfect specimen of art, and reflected equal credit on the donors and the receiver.

On the 23d of August, our hero dined with the Canning Club. In his speech, in return for the usual compliment on such an occasion, he thus reviewed his own conduct:—

"Gentlemen, I owe it to you, in common with all my constituents, to state the grounds on which I am about to separate from you. I have never, (I call past events to bear me witness,)—I have never sought or accepted office, except on principles of honour. I have never hesitated to relinquish it, when I have thought that either public duty or individual honour required its relinquishment. In 1812, when a private individual, and having recently declined the highest official honours of the state, I was returned by you to Parliament, after a contest of unexampled exertion. You were good enough to return me again, when I became a member of the administration. I have since quitted that administration, on a question wholly unconnected with its general course of policy, and without the smallest diminution of attach-

ment to the public principles which I have uniformly professed, or the smallest relaxation in my support of them. When called to office, in 1816, I was called to a department perfectly alien from my official habits, and with the business of which I had no previous acquaintance: but, in the course of nearly five years' diligent administration of that department, it has so happened, that I am supposed, by those in whom the law has vested the power of appointing to the government of India, to have qualified myself for the more immediate direction of that government, over the concerns of which it has been my duty to exercise a distant superintendence.

"Many obvious circumstances, undoubtedly, would make it more agreeable to me to remain in this country. I see around me more than one hundred and sixty motives for so wishing to remain. But, gentlemen, I hold that a public man is, unless he can show cause of honour or duty to the contrary, bound to accept a trust which he is selected as competent to administer for the public interest.

"Gentlemen, those in whom the law, as I have said, vests the power of appointment, (subject to the approbation of the Crown,) have done me the honour to think, that I may be the humble instrument of conferring some benefit on the population of an extensive empire. I fear they overrate my capacity for the task which they impose upon me, as your kindness has overrated my services to you. But I have not felt myself at liberty to decline a task, at once so difficult and so honourable;—I must execute it to the best of my ability. Gentlemen, in leaving your service, it is my pride to carry with me testimonies of your satisfaction. I hope I may, without indecent vanity, add, that in quitting the House of Com-

mons, it is a consolation to me to quit it not defeated nor disgraced.

"If, gentlemen, you and I are separated by space, let us continue united by sentiment and by kindness. I leave here, in your keeping, a name, insignificant as it belongs to an individual, but consecrated by the principles of which you have made it the symbol. Guard it, not for its own sake, but for the sake of those its accompaniments. While it may be my lot to administer a government, of necessity in a great measure discretionary, I shall reflect that there is, in my own country, a community in which my name is cherished, as associated with rational liberty, with the principles of a free government, and with the institutions of a free people. Guard you my memory, and I shall cherish yours. Removed from you by thousands of miles, it will be a pleasure to me to think, that I am occasionally remembered by you; and be assured, that, in whatever part of the world I may be stationed, the members of this society will have a place in my remembrance and regard."

A public dinner was given in honour of our hero, on the 30th of August, 1822, which was attended by a vast number of persons, who, though differing on points of policy from Mr. Canning, came forward to testify their admiration of his talents and conduct;—few such scenes, of amity of feeling with difference of opinion, present themselves. On that occasion, Mr. Canning spoke at large on the two great questions of Emancipation and Reform;—from that speech the portions that related to localities are expunged, as they would not be generally interesting. After thanking the assembly for the manner in which the announcement of his name was received, he proceeded thus—

"Gentlemen, let those who doubt the practical excellence of the political institutions of Great Britain, look at the scene which this assembly exhibits;—and when they see how far an individual, without personal distinction, or personal claims of any kind on the consideration or good-will of a great community, can earn their good opinion, and, I may venture to say, their affection, simply by the performance of his public duty as their representative, let them consider what guarantees there must be for the security of a country in which such connexions are formed, and for a constitution under which such a public interchange of reciprocal esteem and reciprocal obligations is maintained. Never can such a country sink under the vainly apprehended danger of despotism;—never, I trust, can such a constitution be made the victim of that opposite and equally formidable danger,—of anarchy, which would involve not only the ruin of all that is venerable in our establishments, but the extinction of all that is estimable in social life.

"Gentlemen, there are, indeed, other roads to power and popularity. Power may, perhaps, be gained, and its continued tenure secured, by a subserviency without limit or hesitation; and there is a cheap, but dazzling, popularity for those who will either invent a catalogue of imaginary evils, or, attributing to man the acts of Providence, will promise instant relief to sufferings arising out of inevitable necessity, and to calamities which endurance can only cure; who will challenge all existing institutions as misgovernment, and mount and ride in the whirlwind of reform. But, gentlemen, neither of these courses have I ever thought it consistent with honour or with duty to pursue. He may, perhaps, be held a timid and unwise politician, who will not unscrupulously lend himself to objects which he cannot ap-

prove; and he may be sometimes an unpopular representative, who does not lay the foundation of his popularity in flattery of the passions of the people. For the people are open to flattery as well as kings; and that language is not more remote from truth which exalts prerogative beyond the bounds of reason, than that which speaks incessantly of popular rights, without reference to corresponding duties. But, gentlemen, no such sacrifices of truth have been necessary to obtain and to retain your good-will. I have found, in this enlightened community, comprehending, as it necessarily does, conflicting opinions, as well as, in a certain degree, conflicting interests,—I have found a singular temperance in your differences of political opinion. I have found generally prevalent among you a warm but reasoning loyalty, consistent with perfect independence of thought; and an ardent love of liberty, combined with a determined hostility to all the excesses of faction. It is in sympathising with these your feelings, and participating in these your sentiments, that I have acquired the share which I have the happiness to hold in your good opinion; though sure I am, that, with all my endeavours to earn it, I cannot have succeeded in deserving that excess of it which you have been pleased to manifest to me on this occasion."

After some farther allusion to the manifestations of attachment he had received from his constituents, he said, "There are still two great national questions upon which I have the misfortune to differ from the great body of my most respectable friends and supporters in this town—the Catholic Question, and Parliamentary Reform.

"Gentlemen, on the first of these questions, you are well aware of my opinions; for, on one of the earliest occasions on which I had the honour to address the in-

habitants of Liverpool, I told them fairly, that, in accepting my services, they accepted the services of one who, on that question, had taken his part; and who could not, in deference to their opinions or prejudices, call them which you will, abate a jot of his anxiety for its success. Accordingly, gentlemen, at the different periods, and under the various modifications under which that question has come to be discussed, I have given it my most strenuous support. But I have, in all such cases, dealt honestly by you, gentlemen; for I have rarely, if ever, given my support to that measure in the House of Commons, without openly acknowledging, that, in so doing, I spoke against what I believed to be the prevailing sense of my constituents. I have not, therefore, misused the weight of your authority, nor compromised any opinion of yours adverse to my own.

"Gentlemen, if I were remaining in this country, and continuing to take my part in Parliament, I should continue to walk in the same direction; but I think, (and, as I may not elsewhere have an opportunity of expressing this opinion, I am desirous of expressing it here,)—I think that, after the experience of a fruitless struggle of more than ten years, I should, as an individual, (speaking for none but myself, and not knowing whether I carry any other person's opinion with me,) be induced, from henceforth, or, perhaps, after one more general trial, to seek upon that question a liberal compromise, rather than persevere in fighting, perhaps ten years more, in vain for unqualified concession.

"I might have had some hesitation, under other circumstances, in making this avowal, knowing that it is generally an easier, as well as a prouder course, to persevere, even in what is hopeless, than fairly to avow a disposition to compromise. But in what I say on

this occasion, I can have no other object than to declare a sincere opinion. I alluded in recent debates, in the House of Commons, to the policy of accepting partial concessions, and to my regret that I had once been myself a party to the refusal of them. I have since revolved the subject much in my mind: and I confess, that, next to the immediate success of the whole measure, which I have as much as ever at heart, I should wish, as well for the benefit of those most immediately concerned, as for the general peace of the kingdom, to see such an arrangement as should remove all practical cause of complaint on the one side, without inciting vague and indefinite apprehensions on the other; referring to a more favourable opportunity, and to the progress of public opinion, that complete and final settlement, of which I shall never cease to maintain the expediency as well as the justice."

Mr. Canning then proceeded to take the following comprehensive view of the claims of the advocates for reform.

"Gentlemen, what are the general arguments by which we are urged to admit a change in the constitution of the House of Commons? These arguments are derived from expensive wars, from heavy taxes, and from severe enactments, constituting, as is affirmed, so many outrageous inroads upon the constitution. Granted, for argument's sake, that all these charges are true. Granted that all the proceedings of Parliament, for many years past, have been reprehensible. But were they the proceedings of the House of Commons alone? Does the British constitution act by a single organ? Has there been no concurrence in the maintenance of those wars, no consent to the imposition of those taxes, no co-operation in the passing of those enactments? Is there

no other assembly in existence, which partook of the opinions on which the House of Commons has proceeded, and which would make, therefore, the reform of the House of Commons nugatory for the professed purposes, unless the co-ordinate authority was also reformed? If you reform the House of Commons, on the grounds of past misconduct, what will you do with the House of Lords? If the House of Commons is to be reformed, because it sanctioned the war with America; if it is to be reformed, because it maintained the war with France,—(sinking, for a moment, the undoubted fact, that the war with America was a favourite measure with the people of this country as much as with the government; sinking, for a moment, the undoubted fact, that the war with France was emphatically the war of the nation;)—if the House of Commons, I ask, is to be reformed, because it approved and supported those wars; if it is to be reformed, because it passed laws for the suppression of internal disturbance, is the House of Lords to go free, which consented to those wars, and of those acts consented to all, while some of them, and those not the least severe, it originated? If no such reform is to be applied to the House of Lords, what is the supposed effect upon that House of a reform of the House of Commons? Let us fairly speak out:—Is the unreformed House of Lords to continue in full vigour, to counteract the will of the reformed House of Commons? Where, then, is the use of the reform? Or, is the reformed House of Commons to act upon the House of Lords by intimidation and compulsion? Aye!—That, to be sure, is what must be meant, if there be truth in the argument; but that is what no man will say.

"My quarrel, then, with this course of argument is,—not that it aims at an alteration,—at an improvement, if

you please, in the House of Commons; but,—that it aims at quite another thing than a House of Commons as part of a legislature. The legislative authority of the state, according to the constitution as it stands, is shared between two Houses of Parliament:—the suggested reform goes to provide a single instrument, which shall not only do its own work, but inevitably control the working of the other; which, if the object of the reform is obtained, must act so powerfully, that it must, in the very nature of things, reject any co-ordinate power, and speedily act alone.

"I have never stated it as a beauty of the constitution, that Old Sarum should have but as many voters as representatives. Let it have two thousand, with all my heart. I have never stated it as a beauty and perfection of the constitution, that this or that great peer should be able to return persons of his choice as the representatives of the people in Parliament. I have never said, that detected corruption should not be punished. In God's name, disfranchise other corrupt boroughs, as you disfranchised Grampound. But I have said, and I repeat, that I see no way of counteracting the influence of property, and that I can imagine no process of amputation of close boroughs,—on the ground, not of practical punishment, but of speculative improvement, and on the principle that the House of Commons ought to speak the direct sense of the people,—which does not lead, by inevitable inference, to a total alteration of the functions of the House of Commons. If by 'people' is meant the nation, (and it is in the equivocal use of this word that much of the fallacy of the argument lies;)—if an assembly 'representing the people,' is meant to be the undoubted, exclusive organ of national will,—I will ask, when the nation has once such an organ, what room is

there for another legislative establishment? How can a *second* exist, and what is it to do?

"Gentlemen, on a recent occasion, in a neighbouring county, a most respectable gentleman, respectable from family, respectable from private character and from talents, has done me the honour to refer to my opinions with some expressions of surprise. Mr. Fawkes (I name him with due honour, for what I believe to be his individual worth) expressed great surprise, that I, being the representative of the second commercial town in this great kingdom, should feel any anxiety for the fate of the close parts of the representation; surprise for surprise:—for I may, in my turn, be surprised, that a gentleman of Yorkshire, in which county the clamour for reform began, some years ago, on the ground of the inadequacy of its own particular representation, should seize the present moment, when that representation has just been doubled by Parliament, for agitating anew the question of Parliamentary Reform. I know no grievance, in the present constitution of Parliament, which has been so constantly dinned into my ears, from my very youth, as the destitute state of Yorkshire, in being allowed to send only two of her sons to Parliament. She has been long, 'like Niobe, all tears' on this account: but now the grievance is remedied; and, at the very moment when this is done, one of the most gifted of the sons of this unhappy matron comes forward, and, instead of returning thanks in behalf of his parent county, expatiates loudly, in her name, on the inadequate representation of England! A Yorkshireman might have been too well pleased with the recent attention to her long-neglected claims, to be in a humour to find fault with Parliament just at this moment. But, gentlemen, why am I, more than Mr. Fawkes, to confine my attention to my own

particular share of the representation? So far from my situation, as representative of the second town in the empire, stifling my voice on this subject, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, that if I were member for Old Sarum, I should, more probably, hold my tongue upon it. It is because I am member for Liverpool; because I can have no shadow of personal interest in maintaining that more imperfect species of representation, which I do, nevertheless, conscientiously maintain;—it is because my opinion cannot be questioned, as influenced by motives of individual convenience, that I feel a confidence, which I otherwise might not feel, in exposing what I think the fallacy of those doctrines which push the principle of direct personal representation to an extent such as, if adopted, must change the constitution.

"Let any man say, that his views of reform go no farther than to the removal of blots, and I am with him. But it is because the arguments for reform tend much further;—it is because they tend not to remedy, but to destroy; not to correct what may be amiss in a system of representation which combines all species of property, admits all species of industry, opens the door to all species of talent;—it is because they appear to me to tend to a system to be founded exclusively on what is called the power of the people; a power which, if recognised in the sense in which they proclaim it, must act, not in concert with other powers, not by a conflict and compromise of different interests; but by its own uncontrolled authority, supreme and alone;—it is for this reason that I think it right to oppose, *in limine*, projects of Parliamentary Reform.

"Gentlemen, it is said, however, that, besides the faulty composition of the House of Commons, there is an influence of the Crown which perverts and paralyses all

its functions. My first answer to this proposition is the same which I have made to the proposition for alteration in the House of Commons. How rarely does the House of Lords differ from the other House in its decisions?—How much more rarely does it differ in a more popular sense? Is it the influence of the Crown which predominates in the House of Lords too? If it is,—do you mean to leave the House of Lords still subject to the same influence, and still with an equal voice in the decision of every national question? If not,—is not the project still, though upon another pretext, to erect an instrument which will make the operation of the House of Lords completely nugatory; to place in a new, an untried organ, the whole practical energy of the constitution?

"I do verily and sincerely believe, that there is no proposition more false, than that the influence of the Crown, any more than its direct power, has increased comparatively with the increasing strength, wealth, and population of the country. To these, if the Crown be good for any thing at all in the constitution, it is necessary that its power and influence should bear some reasonable proportion. I deny that, in the House of Commons,—I deny that, in the House of Lords, such an increase can be shown; but further I contend, that, in speculating upon the practical play of our constitution, we narrow our view of its efficient principles, of its progress, and of the state in which it now stands, if we do not take into account other powers, extrinsic to the two Houses of Parliament, which are at work in the moral and political world, and which require to be balanced and counterpoised in their operation."

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"Gentlemen, there is one plain test which I think it

wholesome to apply to all speculative projects of political improvement. I consider, first, not how they might operate for the general benefit of mankind:—that is a wide consideration, indeed, and fit to be deeply studied at leisure; but is not, as it appears to me, the immediate business of the British statesman, providing for British interests: and I confess, that as, in private life, I generally look with caution on that diffusive benevolence which neglects the circle immediately around it; so I look with some little suspicion to that spirit of general improvement which is ready to sacrifice, to a general principle, the immediate and particular safety of one's own country. I inquire, rather, how such projects are likely to operate on the British constitution; which I find to be a monarchy,—a monarchy qualified, indeed, with establishments, which limit, which restrain, which control it,—but fundamentally and essentially a monarchy. I do not think myself bound to enter the lists to show why the British constitution *should be* a monarchy. I am not called upon to demonstrate, *a priori*, that it was necessary that the British constitution should be a monarchy, any more than that Great Britain should be an island. It is quite sufficient for me that I find these things so; it is quite sufficient for me to know that Providence has ordained the one, and that the acts of our ancestors, from immemorial time, acquiesced in and confirmed by a long succession of generations, have clearly ascertained the other; and have thus, although without my individual vote or consent, imposed upon me the duty of allegiance to the monarchy under which I have been born.

"I know how tame, and servile, and abject, this sort of reasoning sounds, in an age when it is so much more the fashion to appeal to theory than to fact; to try every

existing establishment by some abstract model of excellence. But, gentlemen, against a popular assembly, constituted on the principles on which Parliamentary Reform is alleged to be necessary, (the effective consequence of which principles does, I willingly admit, go beyond either the avowal, or, I dare say, the intention of those who profess them;)—I say, against a popular assembly, so constituted, no monarchy could stand. Such a government must be, practically, whatever it be in name, a republic. I do not think myself at liberty to discuss the question, whether that be a better kind of government. I feel myself, I confess, circumscribed within the limits of the existing constitution.

'Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna.'

Improve, as you can, the constitution which has fallen to your lot. The attempt to alter, by force, that constitution, is one which the law has branded in disagreeable terms. I agree with the law; and would endeavour to prevent that from being done through inadvertence, which, undoubtedly, there is no danger of any one's attempting to do by design. In short, in all improvements we must conform to the nature of the country to which we belong:—like the king of Bohemia, who had an extreme desire to be a naval power, but whose laudable ambition was checked by this only impediment,—that there was no seaport in his kingdom!

"So much, gentlemen, as to the principles of Parliamentary Reform; and as to the principles of my resistance to it, as a general proposition. Let me now call your attention, for a short time, to the practical uses to which Parliamentary Reform is by its advocates proposed to be applied. Five or six years ago there was great suffering among the labouring classes. Provisions

were at such a price as to be almost unattainable by the poorest order of the people. The grievance in which these sufferings originated was alleged to be the corn bill. The corn bill was passed by the influence of the landholders. The remedy was in some change which would put that influence down:—and we all remember what a clamour was then raised for Parliamentary Reform. Well! Times come round; there is now such a plenty, such a glut of provisions, that the humblest classes of society are enjoying comparative affluence. In the manufacturing districts there is constant and steady employment; at wages somewhat reduced, it is true, but sufficient, in general, for comfortable maintenance. And these blessings are further felt in a reduction of the poor-rates, and, God be thanked, in a remarkable diminution of crime. I do not know, gentlemen, whether all these particulars constitute a flourishing state of the community: but I do know, that the absence of them was considered as constituting a state of things too bad to bear; and I cannot but think, that, whatever partial evils accompany these blessings, those who, five or six years ago, thought the Parliament good for nought, because the landholders had passed a corn bill, and because the poor-rates were augmented, and because the calendars were swelled with crime, must now consent to sympathise with prosperity which grows out of the reverse of the evils of which they complained. But, gentlemen, while the labouring classes of the people are in this state of enjoyment, while work is plenty, while the poor-rates and crimes are diminishing, the growers of corn are suffering. And what is the remedy? Parliamentary Reform! So that, in the year 1817, when you suffered under high prices, Parliamentary Reform was the cure for that calamity; and now, when the

landholders are suffering under cheapness, Parliamentary Reform is necessary the other way! And for what purpose? To restore, I suppose, the good old times of 1817. Let me not be understood as underrating the pressure of either of these evils: in both states of things there is much to lament, and in that which now exists there is much which I wish to God I could see the way to cure. But as to Parliamentary Reform, as the remedy for either,—much more as the remedy for both,—I will ask any man, whether there is common sense in such a proposition; whether the double clamour for it be not a presumption rather in favour of the impartiality with which Parliament has acted in both these painful extremes?

"But Parliamentary Reform is the panacea for every evil. I read, a few days ago, (I cannot immediately recollect where,*) a story of an artist who had attained great eminence in painting, but who had directed his art chiefly to one favourite object. That object happened to be a *red lion*. His first employment was at a public-house, where the landlord allowed him to follow his fancy. Of course, the artist recommended a *red lion*. A gentleman in the neighbourhood having a new dining-room to ornament, applied to the artist for his assistance; and, in order that he might have full scope for his talents, left to him the choice of a subject for the principal compartment of the room. The painter took due time to deliberate; and then, with the utmost gravity and earnestness—'Don't you think,' said he to his employer, 'that a handsome *red lion* would have a fine effect in this situation?' The gentleman was not entirely convinced, perhaps; however, he let the painter have his way in

* In the "John Bull" newspaper.

this instance; determined, nevertheless, that in his library, to which he next conducted the artist, he would have something of more exquisite device and ornament. He showed him a small panel over his chimney-piece. 'Here,' says he, 'I must have something striking. The space, you see, is but small, the workmanship must be proportionably delicate.' 'What think you,' says the painter, after appearing to dive deep into his imagination for the suggestion, 'what think you of a *small red lion?*' Just so it is with Parliamentary Reform. Whatever may be the evil, the remedy is a Parliamentary Reform; and the utmost variety that you can extort from those who call themselves 'moderate reformers' is, that they will be contented with a *small* red lion!

"Gentlemen, I wish that these theories were only entertaining; but they have mischief in them; and I wish that against them the country should be on its guard. I confess I am against even the *smallest* of these *red lions;* I object not to the size, but to the species. I fear the smallest would be but the precursor of the whole menagerie; and that, if once, propitiated by his smallness, you open the door for his admission, you will find, when you wanted him to turn out again, that he had been pampered to a formidable size in his cage."

On the 12th of August (1822) the death of the marquis of Londonderry, attended by its awful circumstances,*

* The death of this distinguished nobleman demands notice; the particulars, as related by the press at the period, were as follow:—

August 14th—At a few minutes before three o'clock, a jury of the most respectable inhabitants in the vicinity of the estate of the late marquis of Londonderry was empannelled to inquire into the cause of the death of the above noble lord. The coroner was Mr. Joseph Carttar, of Deptford. The inquest was held at the house of the deceased lord; and, to the credit of the individuals who were appointed to superintend the arrangements attendant upon this

excited universal attention, and all eyes were turned towards our hero, as the only man likely to succeed him;

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melancholy occasion, not the slightest attempt was made to keep the proceedings secret. Directions were given to the domestics to admit every person who desired to be present at the inquest. The jury being sworn, the coroner addressed them at some length; after which, they proceeded to view the body, which was enveloped in a dressing-gown, and the head was covered with a handkerchief. The feet were towards the window. The blood that proceeded from the wound was still upon the ground.

The first witness was *Anne Robinson;* she deposed as follows:— "I wait upon the marchioness of Londonderry; I knew the marquis; his body now lies upstairs. In my opinion, he has been ill during the last fortnight, but particularly so since Monday week. On Monday morning, he rang the bell; I answered it. He inquired why my lady had not been to see him? Her ladyship had been with him all night, and I told him so. Her ladyship at this time was not in the room. I then went away. The bell rang again; when I answered it, he asked if Dr. Bankhead had been to see him? I told him that Dr. Bankhead had been with him for two hours and a half in the evening. It was about four in the morning when he asked me this question. When I told him that Dr. Bankhead had been with him, he asked what he had said to the doctor; whether he had talked any nonsense to him, or any thing particular, as he had no recollection on the subject. I replied, that I was not in the room during his interview with the doctor. I then left the room. He rang again about seven. I went to him. He then asked me what I wanted there? My lady was with him at the time. She had been with him since four o'clock; and she answered that my ord wanted his breakfast. My lord and lady were in bed at the time. I left the room, and brought the breakfast up. He sat up in bed, and tasted part of it. He found fault with it, and said it was not a breakfast fit for him. He said there was no butter there —the butter, however, was on the tray as usual, and I pointed it out to him. The manner in which he spoke struck me as being uncommon. It was in a sharp tone, which was uncommon with him. I left the room after this. The bell rang again in half an hour: my lady was in the room, and I cannot tell who rang the bell. When I entered the room, he asked if Dr. Bankhead had come from town: I told him that Dr. Bankhead had slept in the house. He then said, that he wished to see him. My lady then got up

if, indeed, Mr. Canning could be persuaded to accept office "at home." On this subject, our hero himself

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and came to me at the door, and said something to me. I went to Dr. Bankhead, and gave him my lord's message. I went back to my lord, and told him that Dr. Bankhead would be with him in two minutes. When my lord saw me speak to my lady, before I left the room to go to Dr. Bankhead, he said there was a conspiracy against him. My lady at that time desired me to tell Dr. Bankhead that he was wanted as soon as he could come. When I returned, and told my lady that Dr. Bankhead would come, my lady got out of bed and retired to her dressing-room. At this moment my lord also got out of bed, and turned to the right into his own dressing-room. I had just opened the door of my lady's dressing-room, into which she had entered, when my lord rushed past me into his own room. I opened the outside door, and told the circumstances to Dr. Bankhead, who immediately followed my lord into his dressing-room. I cannot tell what passed there; but I heard my lord open his window, before the doctor entered his room: he (the doctor) exclaimed, Oh, my lord! or, Oh, my God! I cannot recollect which. I heard no reply to this from my lord. I instantly rushed into the room, and saw the doctor with my lord in his arms. I remained in the room until I saw the doctor lay him with his face upon the ground. I saw the blood running from him, while Dr. Bankhead held him. I saw a knife. I heard my lord say nothing. I was certainly much alarmed. The knife was in his right hand; (a penknife, with an ivory handle, and stained with blood, was shewn to the witness.) I believe that to be the penknife which I saw in my lord's hand." The witness then stated her conviction, that his lordship had been of unsound mind for the last fortnight, and stated several acts of his, in corroboration of her statement.

Charles Bankhead, M. D. was the next witness. The first part of his testimony went to show the deranged state of his lordship's mind, for some days previous to the committal of the rash act that terminated his existence. The latter part we shall detail, as it was given on the inquest.

"I stepped into his dressing-room, and saw him in his dressing-gown, standing with his front towards the window, which was opposite to the door at which I entered; his face was directed towards the ceiling. Without turning his head, on the instant he heard my step, he exclaimed, 'Bankhead, let me fall upon your

spoke, as will be perceived in one of the addresses just quoted.

A minister dying by his own hand was a fertile subject for the propagation of rumour. Some attributed the act to a quarrel alleged to have taken place between the marquis and his sovereign; others to fatigue and anxiety, occasioned by the pressure of business; whilst the voice of faction invented a variety of discreditable causes, which, as they had their existence only in the base minds of envious opponents, lived but a moment in that rank soil, and then were heard no more. The mind of the marquis was, in fact, overpowered by his duties,—aber-

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arm—'tis all over!' As quickly as possible I ran to him, thinking he was fainting, and going to fall—I caught him in my arms as he was falling, and perceived that he had a knife in his right hand, very firmly clenched, and all over blood. I did not see him use it: he must have used it before I came into the room. In falling, he declined upon one side, and the blood burst from him like a torrent from a water-spout. I was unable to support him, and he fell out of my arms. I think the wound must have been inflicted as soon as I put my foot on the threshold of the door; as its nature was such, that the extinction of life must have followed in the twinkling of an eye. I think that not less than two quarts of blood flowed from him in one minute. I am satisfied that a minute did not elapse, from the moment of my entering the room, until he died; and, during that time, he said not a word, except what I have already stated."

Several other witnesses were in attendance, but it was not deemed necessary to call them. After half an hour's deliberation, the following verdict was returned:—

"That, on Monday, the 12th of August, and for some time previously, the most noble Robert marquis of Londonderry, under a grievous disorder did labour and languish, and became, in consequence, delirious and of unsound mind; and that, whilst in that state, with a knife of iron and steel, he did inflict on himself, on the left side of his neck and of the *carotid* artery, a wound of one inch in length and half an inch in depth, of which he instantly died; and that no other person, except himself, was the cause of his death."

ration of intellect was the natural result. He was buried on the 21st of August, in Westminster Abbey.

The deceased marquis, or rather lord Castlereagh, for that name attaches all political remembrance of him, had the misfortune to be as much overrated by his friends, as he was depreciated by his enemies. Lord Byron, in the spirit of invective, designated him "the beast without a heart;" and this phrase, which, if written in haste, was published at leisure, was seized upon as emblematic of a man whose private life abounded in acts of benevolence, generosity, and virtue. The grave now holds that calumniated nobleman, and his noble calumniator. It were easy to prove that lord Byron wrote under the impulse of immediate passion, or feeling, and cared not to let reason revise his pages; and, though in virtuous and noble minds these effusions can produce no other effect than regret that such a man had written them, —yet, with the unworthy tools of party, they serve for watchwords of faction, and the lower members of the opposition press emblazon their dross with the gold they procure from his muse.

Lord Castlereagh was not a man of genius; his oratory was more wordy than thoughtful; but it must also be remembered, that, from his official duties, he was continually speaking. Those men who have attained the greatest fame for their eloquence, have, happily for that fame, had their powers less frequently called into requisition. It is equally silly and unreasonable to expect eloquence in a mere detail of financial arrangements, or a reply to common-place questions, or querulous opposition. It is the fashion to hold the term "man of business," as beneath the dignity of a minister; it is, however, the greatest requisite for that responsible situation. Lord Castlereagh was, as a public and private individual,

decidedly a man of business; and those who have found fault with his speeches have, in common with the country, benefited by his measures. One of his lordship's political opposers spoke of him, during his lifetime, in these words:—"I believe lord Castlereagh to be sincere in most of his opinions, and more free from uncandid evasions than most of the political aspirants of the day. His handsome person, his intelligent and well-defined countenance, his conciliatory tone, his graceful manners, his mildness, urbanity, and invincible courtesy, ensure him popularity, and even fondness, from the House of Commons. In spite of his dulness, and in spite of his political errors, personal and even political animosity loses daily some of its rancour, from the influence of that gentleness which never irritates, and is as slow to be irritated; whose polish makes the sharpest arrow which anger can shoot, glide from him harmless; and whose softness neutralises the most acrid venom. Thus, though he is utterly deficient in the marks of the real English character, and is as little like his native Irish—though he has no honest indiscretions—no bursts of feeling—no fearless, unhesitating avowals, at once imprudent and noble—yet he is, perhaps, the greatest favourite since the time of lord North, in an assembly consisting of four-fifths of Englishmen. Mr. Percival was liked, and deservedly, as an amiable gentleman; but then he fancied himself a wit; and he really had some powers of sarcasm. With this dangerous talent, often has he roused the sleeping whigs into all the rancour of party rage, at the end of a long debate, which had been for hours conducted with the prevailing apathy of the day. Thus, *he* had almost as many political enemies as Mr. Pitt, though he was as gentle as the other was haughty and unaccommodating. Lord Castlereagh has no wit, nor power

of satire; and he is too prudent or too good-natured to show the wish to satirise, without the energy sufficient to make the blow effectual."

In September, (1822,) our hero accepted the seals of the Foreign Office, and very soon after resigned the representation of Liverpool. On that occasion he addressed to them the following circular:—

"TO THE FREEMEN OF LIVERPOOL.

"*Foreign Office, January* 23, 1823.

"GENTLEMEN,—Four months' experience of the occupations of the department which the King has been graciously pleased to confide to me, combined with the anticipation of that increased pressure which the approaching session of Parliament will bring with it, forces upon me the reluctant conviction, that I should no longer be able to give to the important duties of a representative of Liverpool, that degree of attention which would satisfy your just claims, and my own conscientious estimate of them.

"After much hesitation, and with a feeling of deep regret, (for which, I know, you will give me credit,) I have thought it right to declare this conviction to you plainly and openly. It is far better, both for you and for me, that the failure, which I apprehend as too probable, should be prevented than remedied.

"I surrender into your hands, therefore, a charge which, during the ten years that I have had the honour to hold it, I may presume to say, I have fulfilled with earnestness and fidelity; but in which I am, nevertheless, fully aware how much my endeavours have been aided by your encouragement; how many of my omissions have been overlooked by your indulgence; and how greatly my services (such as they were) have been overpaid by the repeated and increasing manifestations of your regard and good opinion.

"You will not, I hope, find it difficult to provide a successor better qualified to serve you. Whoever may be the object of your choice, he may depend upon my co-operation, on any occasion in which I can properly and usefully aid him; and you may be assured of the pleasure with which I shall avail myself of every such opportunity to testify my grateful remembrance of a connexion which has been the pride of my public life, and which nothing could have induced me, during the continuance of my public life, to relinquish, except a sense of duty, that forbids me to retain a trust, of which I cannot adequately discharge the obligations.

"I have the honour to be, with the sincerest gratitude, respect, and attachment,

"Gentlemen,
"Your obliged and faithful servant,
"GEORGE CANNING."

Mr. Huskisson succeeded Mr. Canning as member for Liverpool. At a subsequent period, (the autumn of 1823,) when Mr. Canning was on a visit in that town, an aquatic excursion (in honor of the late and their present member) took place, at which between three and four hundred of the most opulent and respectable inhabitants of Liverpool attended. A public dinner was also given to our hero, and he received every demonstration that his past services were not forgotten.

Thus closed Mr. Canning's parliamentary career; for it certainly closed, when he voluntarily resigned the representation of the second city in Great Britain, after having contested it with some of the most popular and influential persons in the kingdom. There is no parallel instance of an official person obtaining such suffrages under any circumstances, much less under the circumstances Mr. Canning had to contend with. The riches of the Williams' party—the strength of Sefton and of Brougham—were nothing against the powerful influence of the genius of Canning, who carried his election by triumphant majorities, in the teeth of those who differed in opinions and measures; but yet were forced to own, that he was as impartial as he was great. His fame in Liverpool increased hourly, from the first moment of his appearing there as a candidate: it ultimately amounted to enthusiasm—we had nearly said idolatry. Canning wrested this popularity from prejudice. He came amongst hundreds who, at first, avowed themselves his enemies—among many who even

threatened his destruction;—he left them when every voice awakened echo in his praise, and when his name went over the city only to arouse eulogy from every part.

Our hero was now rapidly approaching the highest rank a commoner can attain. The *Morning Chronicle* had, many years before, in a prophetic spirit, augured that he would become Premier. This expectation now became more general. Though holding the seals of the Foreign Office only, Mr. Canning's influence exceeded that of any predecessor in that department. He was looked up to in the House as the virtual, although not the actual, mover of all great questions. His power in the Commons had no parallel: his popularity out of it, already great, hourly increased. The personal dislike, which it had been for years asserted (untruly we believe) that his Majesty entertained towards him, did not restrain the delegation of power to one who, in the opinion of all England, was more fit to wield it than any of her sons.

If it were possible to add another triumph to the fame of Canning, the muse of Lord Byron supplied it. His lordship never eulogised—praise always seemed to have been extorted from him. Differing in politics and principles from our hero, having himself failed in the very arena* where Canning secured his fame, it must be admitted that his commendation was praise indeed.

About this period a singular revolution occurred in the opinions of some of the leading parties of the opposition

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* Cavillers may object, that lord Byron was of the upper House; the principle, however, is the same. Lord Byron failed as an orator. It is a principle of the human mind to envy and condemn those who succeed in the path we have ourselves endeavoured to tread. The noble mind of Byron was above this weakness, and his eulogium on Canning reflects equal honour on his judgment and his candour, his head and his heart.

press. It had been observed, a short time previously, that the enemies of Castlereagh had advanced with laudatory tributes, *after his death;* those who had embittered his life (if he regarded such impotent attempts) with their invectives, willingly wept over his grave. These gentlemen may take to themselves as much credit as they please for that morbid generosity that denies justice to the living, and pours forth fulsome adulation, when the ear it might have charmed is cold in death. But it is questionable, whether, in the case of lord Castlereagh, their eulogies were not more the effect of remorse, than any other feeling; and with regard to Mr. Canning, at this period, of fear rather than of love. There is a very homely adage, although not a very charitable one, which says,

"If he's down—down with him."

This amiable axiom, and its converse, appears to be the ground-work upon which many editors of the present day build their public conduct. Mr. Canning out of office was the mark of malignity. No voice was uplifted in his praise, when he resigned; though that resignation arose from motives that did the highest honour to his heart. The opposition party, who seem to conceive the word disinterestedness to apply to themselves alone, and who maintain a monopoly of independence, could not bestow praise upon an opponent; more especially, as by his own act he had become less fearful to them; they rather employed their ingenuity in inventing reasons for his resignation. These public-spirited gentlemen being perfectly unable to conceive that any but their own party could surrender the loaves and fishes upon *principle* alone. But, when Mr. Canning returned to office, under the suffrages of his sovereign and

the people,—when the public voice was united in his praise,—these independent prints found they could only oppose our hero at the expense of their own popularity and circulation:—the thing was soon done. By a visual power, peculiar to themselves, they now beheld what had been before obscured. Mr. Canning's virtues, his talents, nay, his principles, obtained their sanction. In this enlightened age, are there any beings so dull as to be unable to perceive the motives for this sudden change of sentiment? Mr. Canning was popular, powerful, and in the road to greater power. That he would obtain it, despite their machinations, they foresaw; they therefore changed sides:—became servile admirers, where they had before been illiberal censors, deprecated the power they could not subdue, and prophesied the future greatness of him, whom, a few months before, they had declared unfit for the situation he had abdicated.

The observations we have made on the mobility of opinion displayed by the opponents of ministers, tempt us to recur to Mr. Canning's successor at Liverpool, who, like his lamented friend, has been the victim of these attacks too frequently. We shall step a little out of time to give an instance where this unmerited censure occasioned Mr. Canning to rise as his colleague's advocate. During the discussions on the silk trade, Mr. Williams, member for Lincoln, commented severely on the measures and opinions of Mr. Huskisson. Speaking of Mr. Huskisson's theories, Mr. Williams said, "I cannot allow the existence of five hundred thousand persons (weavers) to be used as an experiment in proving the correctness of an abstract theory. If the authors of this measure are so strongly enamoured of their principle, that they are prepared to make that sacrifice in

carrying it into effect, the strength of their resolution will, in this case, only prove *the quality of their hearts.* A perfect metaphysician, as Mr. Burke observed, exceeded the devil in point of malignity and contempt for the welfare of mankind." This attack was powerfully repelled by Mr. Huskisson himself; but it extracted an eulogium the following day from Mr. Canning, of which Mr. Huskisson may have reason to be proud, to the latest day of his existence. After entering into the particular points of the question, he proceeded :—

"An attempt has been made to fasten on him (Mr. Huskisson) principles which he never supported—an endeavour made to hold him up as an object of public odium. This is the treatment received by my honourable friend,—a man, who, for *patient industry, for laborious toil, for comprehensive intellect, has been rarely equalled, and never surpassed in the political history of this country.* A man who has devoted his days and nights to the permanent improvement of the commercial and trading system of this empire. The House, I am convinced, feels, as one man, how unjustly this attack has been made; and if my right honourable friend looks for any other reward beyond that which he must derive from the consciousness of his own splendid talents, and the propriety of their application, he will have it in the memory of the imbecility of the attempt which has been made to lower him in public estimation. But, after that attack was made, we were told, that there was nothing personal in it. The animosity and malignity of the devil were imputed to my right honourable friend ;—but, says the learned gentleman, 'I meant nothing personal.' The House must judge whether it was or was not personal to my honourable friend. Of course, it could not be intended as personal

to the devil,—who, as old Chronicles inform us, was the *patron saint* of the city (Lincoln) of which the learned gentleman is the *representative*. Could any one fail to suppose, that the embodied malignity, coldness of heart, and apathy of feeling, which that gentleman described as the distinguishing features of those who indulged in abstract speculations, were not intended to be attributed to my right honourable friend, and to those who favoured his doctrines?"

Mr. Canning concluded this speech with these words:—"I should be ashamed if I had let this debate go by, without putting in my claim for a full share of the *responsibility* of this measure, leaving to my right honourable friend (Mr. Huskisson) the *undivided glory*."

The year 1823 was ushered in by meetings in town and country, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform,—the usual precursors of a general election,—the ready bait by which candidates expect to hook constituents. The meeting of Parliament in February brought our hero into active service. The agricultural distress, and the eternal applications for a reduction in national expenditure, rendered Mr. Canning's replies frequent indeed. During this session he seems to have taken a seat to answer questions only. Well might Mr. Huskisson say to the Liverpool electors:—"Upon the temper and talents of Mr. Canning has devolved the task of guiding and repelling the elements of strife from the country, and, if possible, from Europe." And to this was added, the less glorious, but not less useful or troublesome duty of tranquillising or quelling the elements at home.

The war France was waging with Spain now disturbed this country. M. de Chateaubriand, in a speech which was lauded all over his own country, maintained that Great Britain ought to aid the Bourbons in the contest,

and quoted letters of Mr. Canning's, as *sanctioning* the invasion of Spain.* At the period of its publication, or rather promulgation, Mr. Canning was so severely afflicted with the gout, as to be incapable of business. On the 18th of March, he left a sick bed, to attend the House, and made the following observations on the subject:—

"I should deceive the House, were I now to state, that I cling to any rational hope of averting a war

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* Of the *ingenuity* of M. de Chateaubriand, this is not a solitary instance. What that correspondence consisted of, the world ultimately knew; for it was brought before our Parliament. The two following extracts sufficiently prove the utter falsehood of the French minister's assertion:—

"With respect to that part of M. de Chateaubriand's note, which describes the nature of the demands intended to be made by France upon Spain, and takes credit for the moderation of them: your excellency will not fail to observe, that our differences with France and the allies throughout, is not as to the arrangements which it might be desirable to obtain from Spain, but as to the principle upon which France and the allies propose to require them.

"We disclaim for ourselves, and deny for other powers, the right of requiring any changes in the internal institutions of independent states, with the menace of hostile attack in case of refusal. The moderation of such demands, in no degree justifies in our eyes such a mode of enforcing them; and this distinction it is the more important to keep steadily in view, and to impress upon the French government, at a moment when, for their sakes, and at their desire, we are suggesting to Spain, in a tone of friendly counsel, alterations similar to those which France is proposing as the alternative of hostilities."

And in the last letter that passed between the ministers, Mr. Canning said—"That the explanations were dictated by an earnest desire to be enabled to preserve, in that war, a strict and undeviating neutrality: a neutrality not liable to alteration towards either party, so long as the honour and just interests of Great Britain are *equally supported by both*."

The whole of the correspondence on this question will be found in that truly valuable journal, *The Times*, April 15, 1823.) It is exceedingly long.

between France and Spain; indeed, it is incumbent upon me to admit, that the hope of averting this calamity, which his Majesty's government had previously cherished, is, if not totally extinguished, at least very remote, and receding fast from our view. On as early a day as my personal convenience will possibly admit, it is my intention to place upon the table of the House, the papers which relate to the subject; and, on the first convenient day after the recess, I shall take the opportunity of any motion of mere form, and, without presuming to commit the House in any opinion upon the conduct of his Majesty's government, both here and in the other House of Parliament, to state generally the principles upon which they have acted, in the present crisis; of course taking care to allow the fullest information, before Parliament are called upon to express any opinion upon their policy."

On the 14th of April, Mr. Canning laid the correspondence before the House, and called its attention to the question at large. He commenced by quoting a portion of the instructions he had given to the duke of Wellington, who quitted London for Paris forty-eight hours after Mr. Canning's appointment as foreign secretary. The letter was published in the correspondence, and the extract Mr. Canning alluded to is as follows:—

"If there be a determined project to interfere, by force or menace, in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference,—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution,—that, when the necessity arises, or, I would rather say, when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace, at once, frankly and peremptorily to declare, that, to any such interference, *come what may, his Majesty will never be a party.*"

Mr. Canning then went through the correspondence, and clearly explained the motives and policy of each letter; saying that his first thought had throughout been to secure the interests and peace of Great Britain. Our duty to the Portuguese, he thus clearly elucidated:—

"There is much misconstruction in the country upon this subject. It is not only asserted that our connexions with Portugal impose on us the necessity (as they certainly do) of flying to her assistance, if she is attacked; but it is also asserted, that they leave the question of whether Great Britain should go to war, or remain at peace, entirely in the keeping of Portugal.

"I admit our pledge of defence to Portugal, on the ground of a defensive, not an offensive, treaty; and, if there is one point in the law of nations more clear than another, it is this:—that a defensive alliance between two states does not commit one of them to war, when that war is *voluntarily* commenced by the other.

"France has declared to Portugal, that it is not its intention to meddle with her, either in word or deed, unless Portugal interferes with, or attacks, the armies of France. Up to this moment, Portugal is not bound by any engagement to enter into the war. I am not stating her policy, but her obligations. Portugal is not bound by treaty to enter into the war; therefore, if Portugal joins Spain in her endeavours to repel France from the Peninsula, there is no ground for Great Britain to put forward a single soldier in support of Portugal. I am not stating what our policy may be, but what is required by the treaties. England is bound to protect Portugal, if Portugal be attacked; but not if Portugal attacks others."

* * *

"Strong differences of opinion have existed, and do

still exist, with regard to the propriety of our observing a strict neutrality in the impending contest. Many individuals think the invasion of Spain by France ought to be considered by England as a declaration of war against herself. That opinion is held by many persons of the first rank and the utmost respectability in the state; but that opinion cannot receive any support from either justice or the policy of the state. I do not mean to say, that such a war would be absolutely unjust on our part; but that there is no adequate ground on which we can be called to interfere in it. War, in the responsibility of those who have to make it, ought to be well and duly weighed, before it is resolved on. The cause for it should not merely be sufficient, but urgent; and not merely urgent, but absolutely consistent with the interest and welfare of the country which first declares it.

"In making these observations, do I cast any blame upon those who, seeing a strong and powerful nation eager to crush and overwhelm with its vengeance a less numerous, but not less gallant, people, are anxious to join the weaker against the stronger party? Certainly not. The feeling is highly honourable to those who entertain it. The bosoms in which it exists, in full bloom and vigour, unchastened and unalloyed by any other feeling, are much more happy than those in which that feeling is chastened, tempered, and mitigated, by the considerations of prudence, interest, and expediency. I know and envy the feelings of those who call for war, for the issue of which *they* are in no wise likely to be responsible."

* * *

"I have heard that there are some persons who think, that, though it may not be prudent to make war, it might be prudent to menace war against France, upon this ac-

count. These individuals I conceive to be guilty of an error in principle. *The country which menaces war, ought always to be ready to carry those menaces into execution.* There are other individuals who are guilty of an error of a different kind. I mean an error of opinion. They think this country should immediately send forth a maritime armament, to watch the events that may occur on the shores of the Peninsula. Such a course, in my humble opinion, would be unworthy a great and independent nation like our own, and would degrade it from a first to a secondary power. I do hope, whenever this country determines upon war, it will wage it, *not* as an *auxiliary*, but as a principal. Such has hitherto been its policy; and, on all former occasions, when it has resorted to war, it has exerted every nerve to bring it to a safe, a speedy, and an honourable conclusion. *Toto certatum est corpore regni.** This, I contend, is the only sound view in which war can be contemplated; and I differ entirely from those who consider the subject in any other manner. If war is the issue, it should be a war worthy of this great country; and there is no war in which this country can be engaged at the present moment, and under the existing circumstances of Europe, unless she puts forth all her energies, all her power, all her strength, and determines to succeed or perish in the contest.

"The determination of the government is for neutrality—but for what neutrality? The House will give me leave to say—for an honest and real neutrality. Any other would be unworthy of the nation. The choice is

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* It was rather singular that the earl of Liverpool, in his speech in the upper House, on the same day, used this quotation, with a precisely similar inference.

between neutrality and war. If we mean war, let us openly choose it; but if we mean neutrality, let it not be neutrality under the mask of non-interference with one party, whilst a covert support is given to the other. If, gentlemen, you ask me what are the lines, rules, and limits of a just neutrality, I will tell you them in one word. There is a golden maxim, which applies as well to politics as to morals—'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' But to England I say—'Do unto others what *you have made* others do unto you.'"

* * *

This powerful speech Mr. Canning concluded in these words:—

"The promise of actual and efficient support to Spain, this country was not prepared to give; and the case ministers had to consider was this, whether they should withdraw from the question altogether, and treat it with perfect indifference? Indifference we can never feel towards the affairs of Spain: and I earnestly hope and trust, that she may come triumphantly out of the struggle. But I should not speak truly, if I did not say, that I am perfectly convinced, the first result of her success and pacification must be, the adoption of those alterations in her system which we have recommended. But, whether Spain or France is successful, I shall ever feel a perfect conviction, in considering the extent of misery which may be occasioned by the contest, that if Spain had given way in a slight degree on the one part, and the army of observation had been withdrawn on the other, any unpleasant feeling would have been swallowed up and lost sight of, in the immensity of the benefit which would have been produced. They would not now have to deplore that state of warfare, the risk of which is incal-

culably great, and the issue of which it is impossible to foresee."

On another occasion he observed, upon this much-agitated question :—"Gentlemen say, we must be drawn into a war, sooner or later. Why then, I answer, let it be *later*. If we are to be drawn into a war, let us be drawn into it on grounds truly honourable, truly British. I do not say (God forbid I should) that it is no part of the duty of Great Britain to protect what is termed the balance of power, and to aid the weak against the strong. I say, on the contrary, that such is her bounden duty ; but I affirm also, that we must take care to do our duty to ourselves. The first condition of engaging in any war is, that the war must be just ; the second, that, being just in itself, we can also with justice engage in it ; and the third, that, being just in its nature, and it being possible for us justly to embark in it, we can so interfere without detriment or prejudice to ourselves. I contend that he is a visionary politician who leaves this condition out of the question ; and I say farther, that though the glorious abandonment of it may sound well, in the generous speech of an *irresponsible* orator—with the safety of a country on his lips, and none of the responsibility on his shoulders,—it is matter deeply to be considered."

This, though not a popular or romantic view of warfare, is, perhaps, the truest, as it is the wisest, that has ever been avowed. The days of crusades are over, and a country has now to look a little to the advantages, and disadvantages, as well as the glories of a conflict.

On the "Petition of Protestant Clergymen," (April 18, 1823,) and in the discussion that followed, Mr. Brougham took occasion to allude to Mr. Canning, and say, that "He had exhibited the most incredible specimen

of monstrous truckling, for the purpose of obtaining office, which the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish."

Mr. Canning. "I rise to say that is false."

A deep silence followed this. Mr. Brougham sat down, and the speaker rose. A long and animated discussion was the consequence. A motion was made, that "the serjeant-at-arms should take both into custody;" but, after mutual explanations, both the gentlemen agreed to "think no more of the matter."

On the French and Spanish warfare, Mr. Canning, on the 30th of April,* spoke at great length, and with his wonted eloquence; but the debates are too minute for general interest, and we therefore pass it over.

The agitation of this question (making all allowances for the noble feelings of the many) is an excellent elucidation of the principles of certain members of the Opposition, who seem to form a coalition to oppose every thing a minister may offer. Let him advise war; their cry is for retrenchment:—their arguments founded on the necessity of relieving the burdens of the people; that we are not in a state to permit the expenditure of warfare; and that ministers, for their own purposes, would have us eternally belligerent. On the other hand, let the minister advocate peace; these orators are as noisy in their vociferations for warfare, and quite forget all the burdens and difficulties they had before detailed. This opposition, for opposition's sake, is disgraceful to

* It is scarcely worthy of mention, though the source of some mirth at the period, that a box of Breakwater marble, beautifully mounted with silver, which contained the freedom of the borough of Plymouth, presented to Mr. Canning, was seized by an excise officer, as the silver had not received the hall mark, which should have been impressed by the assay master.

the country, and derogates from the dignity of a national assembly. A minister of Great Britain, when engaged to choose between war and peace, should consult his judgment, not his feelings. It is easy to declare, it is easy to commence, a war; but he who does it must calculate on the means of carrying it on.

Mr. Canning justly remarked, that those who advocated it would not be responsible for its result. He might have added, that they would have been amongst the first to throw blame upon the ministry, if their efforts were ineffectual,—to attribute failure to the manner of conducting it, rather than the war itself; and to have raised their voices against those supplies that the war they called for required. Common sense dictates to every man, as well as every country, that, as long as it is *honourable* to remain pacific, it is rash to become belligerent. What would the advocates for warfare have said, if, on our joining Spain and attacking France, she had claimed the assistance of her allies against us, as her aggressors? (which in that case we should assuredly have been.) What would these gentlemen have said, when they had thus plunged Europe again into a warfare likely to be interminable? One, too, that, if it subsided, would have in its progress destroyed our trade, drained our resources, and given us no recompence,—for ours being only a power in aid, could have seized no city, obtained no possessions. Why, these enthusiastic friends of liberty would have wielded the thunder of their eloquence against the ministry, under whose direction the war began—loaded them with obloquy; and the only recompence men in office would have obtained, for having complied with their wishes, would have been, that they would thus become the victims of

their reproaches. A sound and wholesome policy directed Mr. Canning: he resigned the show and glitter of popularity for a moment, to secure its more valuable portion—the approbation of every thinking being; who, looking around at the blessings a protracted peace bestows, remembers, that all this must have been destroyed, had our hero consented to join the Spaniards against France.

In the year 1824, the Cabinet determined on the recognition of the States of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres; a measure as politic as just;—which, if it did not entirely emanate from Mr. Canning, had his warmest support and concurrence, and one to which lord Castlereagh had been determinedly opposed. At the close of this year, Mr. Canning and lord Liverpool were at Bristol, where a public dinner was given, in honour of these ministers. The next session of Parliament, (February, 1825,) we find Brougham eulogising the ministers, and our hero in particular, for the liberal course of policy they had adopted. Upon the discussion that occurred at this period, for the suppression of the Catholic association, Mr. Tierney took occasion to say, that if Mr. Canning had insisted on Catholic Emancipation, the friends of it would not now have to contend with a divided Cabinet. Mr. Canning replied, and stated, that, during Percival's administration, he had refused office, because a pledge against that measure was required. He thought ministers should be unbiassed on the question. On the 19th of March, the question was brought before the House; and, on the 21st, Mr. Canning spoke upon it with his usual excellence. The subject has been completely exhausted—the arguments must infallibly be old —however new the form may be, in which the ingenuity

of the speakers envelops them. This session was rendered remarkable by the speech of the duke of York, in the upper House, upon this subject.

In June, the treatment of Mr. Shrewsbury, a missionary at Barbadoes, whose chapel had been demolished by an infuriated mob, was brought before the House. Mr. Canning entered warmly into the subject, and moved an amendment, "That the House should express to his Majesty their concurrence in any measure his Majesty might deem necessary, to secure the most ample protection and religious toleration to all classes of his Majesty's subjects."

The conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the new States of America, called forth a remonstrance from Spain, which was at once set at rest by the conduct of Canning. A *whig* journal gives the following concise account of that correspondence:—

"It is impossible we can overlook a paper, which shows us that a new era has dawned in diplomacy. Almost to the present time, the papers, speeches, letters, and other documents, which were framed for diplomatic purposes, were unsatisfactory, ill drawn up, formal, and hollow; nay, sometimes, not founded in truth; for diplomatic intercourse was formerly considered the art of excelling in cunning, overreaching, and trickery. Those who framed them often appeared sedulous to involve their subject, a measure that implied weakness. Instead of stating their *ultimatum* boldly, as conscious of the force of truth, and of innate power and dignity, the quibble of the lawyer, his dubious *verbiage*, and mode of confusing language, were the favourite resources of diplomatists. This mode, after the wisdom of the 'good old times,' has been abandoned, we trust, for ever, at least in the office for Foreign Affairs. A late corres-

pondence with the Spanish minister, admirably drawn up, well and forcibly written, clear as to the points at issue, proves that Mr. Canning dares to appear the man of talent and the scholar; and to use, instead of office forms and dry half-meaning sentences, vigour of style and open manly reasoning, consonant to the elevation of his office, to the intellect of his country, and the established opinion of his own powers. The communications of M. Zea from the Spanish Court appear to have been of the old school of such writings. We lament we cannot give both at length, as worthy of record, were it only for the foregoing reasons. Mr. Canning manfully acknowledges all that took place between Great Britain and the government of France under a directory, a consulate, and an emperor, in reply to M. Zea's implications of England's not having so negociated. He alludes to Mr. Fox's correspondence in 1806, with the then minister, Talleyrand, and the subsequent overtures in 1808 and 1814, which recognised Napoleon's government, and only failed because Spain was not admitted as a contracting party. He exposes the flattery of the Spanish diplomatists, and exhibits Charles and Ferdinand, as worshippers of the imperial crown. He states that the restoration of their relatives, the French Bourbons, was a subject of more than doubt in the camp of the allies; and afterwards says:—

"'The example of the last revolution of France, and of the happy re-establishment of Louis XVIII. on his throne, is cited by M. Zea, in support of the principle of the imprescriptible rights of a legitimate sovereign, and the obligation of all foreign powers to respect those rights; and, in consequence, this minister invites England to act consistently; and, in its conduct towards the new States of Spanish America, to observe the same reserve as was exhibited, in a manner so honourable to her, towards revolutionary France. But it is necessary to recal to the recollection of M. Zea,

that all the powers of Europe, and particularly Spain, one of the first, not only acknowledges the different governments *de facto*, which deprived the Bourbons of the throne of France, and which afterwards kept that family at a distance from it for twenty-five years; but that Spain, besides, concluded strict alliances with them, and above all, with the one which M. Zea justly designates as a government *de facto* in the strictest sense—that of Buonaparte; against whom his unrestrained ambition, and not a principle of respect for the rights of legitimate monarchy, had armed all the powers of Europe. It is useless to attempt to give another colour to facts which have already been displayed in the page of history; and the undersigned is, in consequence, obliged to add, that Great Britain cannot, in justice to herself, accept the eulogium which M. Zea bestows on her in this respect; nor can she pretend to except herself from the general accusation of having negociated with the chiefs of the French revolution. It is true, that in 1796 England abstained from treating with revolutionary France, long after the Powers of Europe had given it the example. But the causes of this reserve, alleged in Parliament, and in different documents, was the subordinate state of the French Government; and it cannot be denied, that Great Britain, twice, *viz.* in 1796 and 1797, opened negociations for peace with the French Directory, which, if they had succeeded, would have led to a recognition of that form of Government. In 1801 peace was concluded with the Consulate; and if in 1806 peace was not actually concluded with Buonaparte, then emperor of France, the negociation was only broken off by one condition; and if in 1808 and 1814 England refused to listen to any overture on the part of France, she did it solely because Buonaparte refused to admit Spain as a contracting party in the negociation. Moreover, it cannot be denied, that even in 1814 Great Britain would have made peace with Buonaparte, if he had not been so immoderate in his pretensions; and Spain cannot be ignorant, that even since the fall of Buonaparte it was a question among the Allies, whether it would be proper to place on the throne of France a sovereign who was not a Bourbon. The appeal, therefore, to the conduct of the Powers of Europe and to Great Britain, with respect to the French Revolution, only serves to recal abundant examples of the recognition of governments *de facto* by Great Britain, which in this respect was always more tardy than the other Powers of Europe, and especially Spain, which gave them the example. In the note of M. Zea are two other points which demand particular remark. M. Zea says, that the king of Spain will never recognise the new States of Spanish America,

and that his Majesty will not cease to employ force of arms against his rebel subjects in that part of the world. We have neither the pretension nor the desire to control the conduct of his Catholic Majesty; but this declaration of M. Zea is a complete justification of our conduct, as it proves that we have seized the proper moment to put our relations with the new States on a firm footing. A further delay on our part could not have satisfied Spain, or produced any benefit, seeing that Spain has decidedly pronounced herself against all arrangement, under any circumstances, or at any time; and that she is resolved on interminable war with her ancient colonies.'"

The treaty for the regulation of commerce between Great Britain and the Brazils, ratified at Rio de Janeiro, and the yet more important agreement for the abolition of slave traffic, took place towards the close of 1825; but this was a solitary ray of sunshine amid a world of desolation;—the national calamity, that received the name of the panic, occurred. Those who looked on at the incredible number of companies that had been forming in the last year, instituted by persons alike bankrupts in character and fortune, foresaw that a re-action would take place. The crisis of 1793 was trifling, when compared with that of 1825, yet the effect of the failures at *that* era are thus alluded to, in the *Annual Register* of the period:—

"A spirit of commercial speculation has been for some time increasing in every part of the kingdom, and has now got to such a height as to threaten public credit with very serious danger. The circulating specie being by no means sufficient to answer the very increased demands of trade, the quantity of paper currency brought into circulation as a supplying medium is so great and disproportionate, that a scarcity of specie is produced, which threatens a general stagnation in the commercial world. In consequence of this alarming state of public credit, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, a select committtee was this day

appointed, to take into consideration the present state of commercial credit, and to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House."

We do not exaggerate when we say, that at least one-third of the British population anticipated national bankruptcy, in the month of December, 1825. These occurrences are best recorded in the language of the moment. *The Sunday Times*, which was more moderate than other journals in its statements, made the following observations, on the 9th of December:—

"Moderation in politics, or pecuniary concerns, is a virtue unknown to John Bull; people here are always either staring or stark mad. The speculation mania had scarce subsided, when a furious frenzy of another sort succeeded, and a plethora was followed by a panic. The rush on the banks, and on public and private securities, in town and country, is unprecedented in its fury; like the miser of antiquity, men actually appear as if they could gorge on gold. Confidence of every sort has nearly fled before this frenzy; the bonds between debtor and creditor are for the hour destroyed. Individuals prey on each other, like famished residents in a beleaguered town, and every thing yields to a money famine. Four millions of exchequer bills will, probably, be called in on the notice in Tuesday's *Gazette*, and the interest on these bills will be raised from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* a day—that is, from £2. 5*s.* 7½*d.* to £3. 0*s.* 10*d.* on each £100, making an increase of about £300,000 for additional interest on four millions. Consols, which fell at the opening of the week to 81¼, have rallied on this notice; for every breath affects the Stock Exchange. But the variance between *time* and *money* bargains marks the pecuniary pressure: such is the scarcity of cash, that the difference between consols for money, and stock for the January account, was, on some days of the

past week, 1¼ per cent. or more than £10 per cent. per annum. This is an extraordinary state of things, which must subside as it rose. Relief from ministers, beyond funding so much exchequer bills, is out of the question. The circulating medium will be increased *pro tanto* by the amount of notes or coin issued from the Treasury to the holders requiring payment; but, of the four millions now to be funded, a considerable part must be the property of suitors in Chancery, or deposited on various trusts, which will be exchanged for new bills, and the general relief must be comparatively light. The new bills passing into the hands of the Bank, will be thrown into the market again, when an opportunity comes for calling in paper to the amount, which must be furnished to the Treasury to meet the present demand. Some palliative may be afforded by the million or more thus thrown into the money market; but further ministers will not go. They know too well the causes of the present panic; that the rage for speculation has produced it—and that it is only the re-action of the hour. There is nothing alarming to the *country*, in the present crisis; the circle is limited to a knot of speculators, and scarce spreads farther. The effervescence must soon subside. Property, real or funded, cannot long be depreciated by this panic, which could never have occurred, if money was not too easily procured; if, on discount and stock, thousands were not raised with facility, and embarked in a succession of rash adventures. The fact is, the Bank discounted too long and largely."

The panic requires no lengthened detail from any historian at present; it impressed itself on every memory; it is recorded in the misery that has not yet been alleviated; its historians are yet to be found in our prisons—its history in *The Gazette*. Our sons may wish

to learn what the fearful watchword (the panic) intimated, but *we* can never forget it. London, the vortex of ruin, as well as of prosperity, overglutted with capital, ran riot in her wealth.—No scheme was too Utopian for belief; no scoundrels too notorious to obtain proselytes to their plans. Never did gullibility receive such castigation—never did avarice make such severe retribution. Thousands went to bed at night uncertain whether the announcement of other's failures might not render them insolvent on the morrow; and the question of the morning was, not who had last failed, but who yet maintained their credit.

The meeting of Parliament was looked to by all with anticipation, but by the thinking with but faint hope; for parliamentary interference could not remedy a disease arising from the follies of the people. Mr. Canning's speech on the subject was confined to an exculpation of himself and colleagues from blame, which (according to custom) was liberally bestowed upon them. Mr. Canning said—

"An honourable gentleman, who spoke early in the debate, made, among a variety of remarks, one which I cannot allow to remain unnoticed. 'He thought that the ministers were extremely culpable for not discouraging the wild spirit of speculation which had contributed so much to the present crisis of distress; and that they were wanting in their duty, because, when the various schemes of last year were discussed, they did not attend in their places, to give a detailed opposition to every one of them.' It appears to me to be a convenient and seemly rule, that those whose duty it is to attend to the public business of the country, should abstain from taking an active part in the consideration of any measure which merely affects individual interests. For myself, I have

always endeavoured to act by this rule. I have never given a vote on any private business, since I became a minister; and I believe the same rule has been followed by all my colleagues in administration. It appears to me, that such is the safe and seemly rule of conduct; because, if I could reconcile it to my sense of duty, to break through it in one instance, I might be induced to break through it in more: and a practice might thus grow up, from which many suspicions might arise, unjust and unfounded, as they would be at present, but still impossible to be entirely avoided. But has there been no warning given to the country, on the part of ministers? Has there been no opportunity, during the fever which existed last year in the public mind, in which the King's government had declared, that they would not advance a farthing to the aid of any difficulties which might ensue from excessive speculation? I might here, as on a matter of history, allude to what had occurred on a former occasion in another place. One of his Majesty's ministers,—I mean my noble friend at the head of the Treasury,—speaking as the organ of that department of the state, and also in his capacity as a member of the government, took an opportunity, early in March last, not five weeks after the commencement of the session, and before one single bill had passed, to hold out to all who were engaged in those speculations, that they were running wildly into them;—that it was the essence of a free government not to interpose any legislative let or hindrance to the current of individual enterprise and industry;—that those who entered wildly into extravagant speculations, did so upon their own risk and responsibility—and that it was the fixed resolution of his Majesty's government not to extend any pecuniary assistance to the difficulties which were likely to arise out of them. As far as the voice of

government could be heard, it was heard through the country."

Mr. Canning, on other nights of discussion, entered into the question of currency, and pursued the details of its effects and variation with astonishing minuteness. The subject, though one entirely unconnected with his department, was treated by him in a more masterly manner than by those (with one exception) upon whom the *onus* of suggesting a remedy seemed to rest. Mr. Canning, in one of his speeches, objecting to the issue of very small notes, quoted from a letter (the only one, he said,) he had received from Burke, which contained this passage :—" Tell Mr. Pitt not to issue one pound notes, for if he does, he will never see a guinea again." "Burke," continued our hero, "was a great politician,—this letter shews that he was no ordinary prophet." This speech is too much interwoven with calculations and replies to find a place here ; but the concluding words of it were as follow :—" It was the wish of the most favoured monarch of France, that he could see every peasant in his realm have a fowl in his pot on a Sunday. The measure before the House will, at least, do so much towards realising that wish for the peasantry of England, it will ensure them the possession of their fowl, after they have earned it. The poor man will at least be certain, at the end of his week's toil, not to find himself with a piece of paper in his hands, for which he can obtain no value, but to receive the value of his labour, be it great or small—the real payment, which he has exerted himself to gain."

On the question of Negro Slavery, (March,) Mr. Canning took his usual ground for its gradual abolition, and stated the resolutions of the Commons, and the

exhortations ministers had used to the powers at Trinidad and elsewhere.

"The one sent to Trinidad is, I believe," said Mr. Canning, "the most full; and it provided for the admission of the evidence of negroes, the legalization of marriages amongst them, the abolition of Sunday markets, the punishment of the whip, and the *total abolition* of corporal punishment with regard to females; that negroes should not be sold apart from their families; that manumission should be rendered more easy; that the property of the negroes should be secured to them; that they should receive religious instruction, and that saving-banks should be established."

Mr. Canning's views of slavery, as a member of the House, and as a minister, were different. As a man, he could not but feel that every arm should be raised to crush and overpower those who marted flesh and blood; but as a minister, whose opinion would be construed into advice, and whose observations would be considered as precursors of intended measures, he adopted the prudential course of ameliorating the condition of those he could not emancipate; with what success, will be seen by the perusal of another portion of this speech.

"By the latest accounts which have been received from these colonies, I find the clause relative to religious institutions, modified more or less by the circumstances in which each of them were placed, eight out of the twelve have taken cognizance of. With regard to the clause respecting the admission of negro evidence, in cases where whites were concerned, I find that seven out of twelve either admitted such evidence before, or have agreed to admit it.

"With respect to marriage, I am sorry to say, that

there are only five of them in which any thing has been done, in consequence of the recommendation of Parliament. As to the security of property, I have to inform the House, that, under certain limitations and modifications, eight of them have taken cognisance of that clause, or had rendered the property of negroes secure before. With respect to the manumission of slaves, I find that the greater part of the colonies had legislated on the point, before the arrival of the Orders in Council amongst them. The clause prohibiting the sale of slaves of the same family in separate lots, has been adopted only by four colonies; but I am happy to state, that the objections which have been urged against it were, in all the colonies,* rather of a legal than a moral nature, and were such as could not be removed by the colonies themselves. As to the clause respecting the non-separation of females from their children, only five have yet agreed to it. As to the clause relating to the punishment of slaves, and to the abolition of the use of the whip, I have to inform you, gentlemen, that eight have adopted new regulations, meeting, in one way or other, the wishes of the British Parliament. As to the clause abolishing the corporal punishment of females, I lament, that but five of the colonial legislatures have acceded to it: although I think that their adoption of it was one of the plainest modes which could have been devised, for evincing their disposition to meet the wishes and recommendations of the people of England.

"I confess, that if there is one point more than another

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* The colonies Mr. Canning alluded to generally were—Demerara, Berbice, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent's, St. Kitt's, and St. Lucia.

on which I could bring myself to adopt the resolution of the honourable member for Weymouth, rather than my own, it is the refusal of the colonies to abolish the corporal punishment of females, for which no pretence whatever could be alleged, except a disposition to fly in the face of the recommendation of the mother country."

The distress in the manufacturing districts, which succeeded the panic, received the earliest attention from Mr. Canning, who made a motion upon it in the House. The measure proposed for relief was, allowing the foreign wheat to go into the market on a duty of 12s.

Mr. Brougham made a motion for the "improvement of the condition of slaves," and advocated their emancipation by compulsatory measures. Mr. Canning, in his reply, said, "By the resolutions of 1822, Parliament pledged itself to abide by a system, not of force, but of conciliation; unless in the event of such a spirit of resistance and contumacy, as I trust it will not have to encounter. The honourable gentleman would throw all the weight of the desired alteration upon the shoulders of this country, and cut away all chance of co-operation on the part of the colonists. The question is not, how far the proposed measure in the abstract is right; but how far subject to existing circumstances it is either just or expedient; and if any persons think fit now to stand upon the doctrine,—to discuss the single question,—how far can man be rightly the property of man? and maintain that this is sufficient—I answer such persons,—that however proof they may be in the fancied security of their abstract position, they neither argue like members of a British House of Parliament, nor like members of a great and civilized society. Unpleasant as it is for me to be compelled to advert to speeches or opinions

formerly delivered by me in this House, it is yet imperative upon me to remove an impression which may have been created in the minds of honourable members, by something which has fallen, at least inaccurately, from the honourable and learned member opposite. No doubt I have uttered the words in a former debate upon the subject before the House:—'that the spirit of the British constitution is necessarily hostile to any modification of slavery.' No doubt I uttered these words; but is it fair to take them without reference to the declaration (in the same speech) by which they were followed: 'That the British constitution had, for years, sanctioned, and even fostered a colonial system, in which slavery, as every man must be aware, formed of necessity a principal ingredient.' For the fact is, and it is impossible to deny it, that by whatever judicial blindness, by whatever immaturity of perception, this country, with all the freedom of her boasted constitution, has actually encouraged—actually founded—a system in her colonies, to the sustenance of which, not merely the existence of slavery, but the manual influence of it—a black stygean stream of it constantly pouring in—was absolutely necessary.

"I cannot hold, as an unqualified position, that slavery is incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution, when I see that, in the very brightest periods of this free constitution, a system of slavery has not only been tolerated and defended, but set up. To similar assertions, that slavery cannot be tolerated under the existence of the Christian religion, I am equally unable to give my unqualified assent; for if such is the case, there not only has been deep crime, but there is crime in the course which Parliament even at this moment is pursuing. If that unqualified statement be true, a Christian country

like England has no choice. We ought, at one blow, to put an end to the system upon which we are now debating. We ought not to talk of such a horror, but on the instant destroy it. It is a thing not to be argued on, but to be universally execrated, upon which (with reference to measures to be taken in the next session) the House are now debating. But it is impossible, whatever may be men's wishes or feelings,—it is impossible to maintain, for a moment, that slavery and the Christian religion are incapable of existing together. They do exist together —they have existed together, from the very first dawning of Christianity—they have existed together, down to the present time. The spirit of that religion—Christianity—is to tame the proud, and to assist the lowly; but it does not do that by sudden changes—by the destruction of existing systems—by revolutions of danger and of blood. It mounts to the throne of all the Cæsars —it can comfort the poor captive in his cell—but it has been preached, although its existence was incompatible with slavery, it has been preached in the streets of *ancient* Rome, at a time when *Servi Cruciantur* was the ordinary process of the Forum. Repugnant as slavery is, both to the Christian religion and the spirit of the British constitution, British parliaments have concurred, for years, in fostering and aiding that very system which the better feeling of the House now looks upon with horror. How shall we deal with such a system? Shall we continue it? No. But having been all of us, the whole country, involved in the guilt, and sharers in the profit of it, we cannot now turn round upon a part, and say to them, 'You alone shall expiate the crime.'

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Mr. Canning said, that the difference between himself and Messrs. Brougham and Denman was, in manner or

method only. "In principle," continued Mr. Canning, "we are nearly agreed. Some persons there are, who are always ready to run a risk, for the sake of arriving suddenly at their object; others, and of these I am one, are content to risk some slight retardment, for the purpose of arriving at it safely."

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"Neither the tenets of the Christian religion, or the spirit of the British constitution, call upon Parliament to abolish slavery, at the risk of public safety or private wrong."

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In the summer of this year, whilst other members were engaged in the turmoils of their elections, Mr. Canning was passing his hours with his friend, the earl of Liverpool, at Combe Wood. In the September of that year, he went to Paris. His reception there proved that he was looked upon, on the Continent, as in talent, though not station, the first man of the day. He divided the attention of the city with Talma; who, being then alarmingly ill, was the subject of conversation from one end of France to the other. Talma died during Mr. Canning's stay. The French papers of that period were really excessively amusing. If Mr. Canning took off his hat, they drew a deduction from it; if he kept it on, "he had his motive for it;" his invitations and visits were registered and published; his dress animadverted upon; in short, he could neither stir or breathe, without exciting observation. He dined with the Pope's nuncio and the American minister; and these visits were fertile sources for Parisian speculation. Though received by the French King with every mark of attention, it was said his Majesty could not receive him at his dinner; and this was thus alluded to in the *Journal de Debats*:—

"At the grand dinner given at M. Villele's, to which Mr. Canning, and all the diplomatists in town, were invited, turtle and cold punch were among the dishes, and the guests continued till a late hour. Mr. Canning has been introduced to, and cordially received by, the King; but it is understood that he will not have the pleasure of dining with his Majesty, French courtesy not allowing a king of France to take his seat by a plebeian."

And again thus:—

"*Paris, Oct.* 14.—Mr. Canning's departure from this capital is understood to be fixed for the 20th instant: as the new Parliament will open on the 14th of November, this is probable. From the manner in which he has conducted himself, both in public and private, very little can be gleaned of the real object of his visit. He is always, from his appearance, no more than an English minister on leave of absence; the same reserve, the same simplicity, and the same modesty, are observable, both in the public and private parties which he has visited, which have, however, been but few, as this is the dull season. He sees and converses with men of all parties, and, though he speaks French tolerably well, appears always more willing to listen than to dictate. At the grand dinners to which he has been invited, the same modesty has prevailed; he has always left the seat of honour to those above him only in rank, particularly at the diplomatic dinner of M. de Villele, where he took the ninth seat. He has never worn the costume of an English minister, except on the day he was presented to the King, by whom he was received very graciously. The question, whether he should dine with his Majesty, has caused great debates amongst the court sticklers for etiquette, and has *been at length finally negatived.* The

thraldom of an etiquette, which is observed in no other European court, carried the day, there having been but two instances of its being broken through, since the revolution. It has been remarked also, that, among all the political diplomatic dinners, the Prince di Borgo has not given one."

The day after this was written, the Prince last named appeared to have taken the hint; for he gave a dinner, to which Mr. Canning was invited. Notwithstanding the positive assurances of the Parisian press, that Mr. Canning would not be permitted to dine with their sovereign, Mr. Canning did so dine, on the 19th of October, the day of Talma's death, and the Parisian press thus records it:—

"The superstitions of etiquette, and the vanities of the court, have just received a check which disconcerts them. The minister of a foreign government, a plebeian, who has no other title than that of being a great orator, a skilful statesman, and an eloquent proclaimer of a system of civil, commercial, and religious liberty, has had the honour to sit to-day at the King's table. In this, Charles X. has done what appeared quite natural to Henry IV. and the chiefs of our ancient monarchy. It was not till the time of Louis XIV. that forms more Asiatic than really French were introduced round the throne. A barrier, which scarcely existed any where, except at the courts of Versailles and Madrid, has thus fallen, after a month's hesitation, before illustrious renown. Such an example, undoubtedly, will not be confined to foreigners; but the King of France will grant the same distinction to the merit and services of his subjects. This morning Mr. Canning breakfasted at St. Ouen with one of our principal manufacturers; and this evening he had the honour to dine at the Tuileries

with the King and Royal Family. None but men thrown by mistake into our age—none but old courtiers, are capable of being astonished at what is so proper and conformable to the spirit of the French charter and the British constitution. Such are the consequences and inspirations of constitutional royalty in both countries."—*Courier Francais.*

Space and disinclination alike deter us from entering into a detail of the absurd rumours and anecdotes told of our hero at Paris, and at home, during this visit. When a man's actions are so narrowly watched, it is easy enough to frame anecdotes that will obtain circulation and belief. With one more extract from the Parisian press, we must conclude our notice of Mr. Canning's visit to France.

"Mr. Canning had the honour of being received yesterday in a private audience by the King, and to take leave of his Majesty. The interview, as on a former occasion, lasted upwards of an hour. On the preceding day, Mr. Canning paid his farewell visit to our ministers, and to the members of the diplomatic corps. He found time to give a long sitting to our celebrated painter Gerard, for the finishing of a portrait intended for his friend lord Grenville. The last diplomatic dinner at which he was present, took place at the residence of M. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador. He had once before dined with the French and foreign ministers, but no ladies were present. On this occasion, Mrs. Canning was invited, with her daughter, the marchioness of Clanricarde, and about thirty other persons, all foreigners. Not one of our ministers was present, nor any of their ladies."

Shortly after our hero's return to England, he went to the Royal Lodge, Windsor, on a visit to the King. Indeed, at this period Mr. Canning appears to have had

honours thrust upon him: the grand cordon of the legion of honour was, according to the *Quotidienne*, offered him by the French government, which he refused.

Mr. Canning, with the earl of Liverpool, Mr. Peel, Mr. Huskisson, and many members of the lower House, attended the civic feast on the 9th of November. On his health being drank, he adverted to the period when all Europe were engaged in warfare.

"That time," said Mr. Canning, "has gone by, and the labours of those who hold high official situations considerably lessened. Those labours are now comparatively light and trivial; and as they were directed towards the cultivation of peace, and the diffusion of arts and commerce throughout the world, they carried, with their success, reflections of the most gratifying nature. We have this day heard in our language, uttered by an illustrious foreigner, what are the sentiments entertained towards Great Britain, by that country with which, for twenty years, we have struggled for the mastery of the world.* Those sentiments, I am happy to say, were of the most conciliatory description; and I am sure it will be most satisfactory to the assembly, when I declare, that the feelings which have been this day expressed on the part of France, would have been re-echoed with delight, had the representatives of the other European courts been present. Successfully to cultivate

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* Alluding to the speech of prince Polignac, which was in these words:—"I beg leave to express the deep sense I entertain of the honour which has just been conferred on me. Our court (France) I can assure those whom I address, is actuated by the best feelings towards this country. For myself, I feel proud to be entertained by the chief men of this ancient and wealthy city, and I heartily wish that its trade and commerce may continue to flourish with unabated prosperity."

the continuance of the peace and tranquillity which now happily prevails, would afford a sufficient reward for all the labours to which, as a public man, I must necessarily be exposed."

On the meeting of parliament (21st of November) Mr. Brougham objected to the King's speech; spoke of the necessity of retrenchments; and blamed ministers for their intention of erecting new palaces. To this, Mr. Canning replied, saying that Mr. Brougham had thrown a great deal of good indignation entirely away. "That gentleman," said Mr. Canning, "speaking of the necessity of retrenching our expenses, declared it would be most acceptable to the people to suspend certain works now in progress.—To this I reply, that the prosecution of public works is of the first importance, when the crying evil of the country is the want of employment for its working population."

The conduct of the speculators in the joint-stock companies came before Parliament early in this session. Mr. Brogden, whose conduct was impugned, very properly resigned his seat as chairman of the committees of the House. The affair was, after a discussion, referred to a committee.

On Monday, the 11th of December, Mr. Canning brought down to the House a message from his Majesty* in these words:—

"GEORGE R.—His Majesty acquaints the House of Commons, that his Majesty has received an earnest application from the Princess Regent of Portugal, claiming, in virtue of the ancient obligations of alliance and amity subsisting between his Majesty and the Crown of Portugal, his Majesty's aid against an hostile aggression from Spain.

* The events which rendered this communication necessary were only known to his Majesty on the night of the previous Friday.

"His Majesty has exerted himself for some time past, in conjunction with his Majesty's ally, the king of France, to prevent such an aggression; and repeated assurances have been given by the Court of Madrid, of the determination of his Catholic Majesty neither to commit, nor to allow to be committed, from his Catholic Majesty's territory, any aggression against Portugal.

"But his Majesty has learnt with deep concern, that, notwithstanding these assurances, hostile inroads into the territory of Portugal have been concerted in Spain, and have been executed under the eyes of Spanish authorities, by Portuguese regiments which had deserted into Spain, and which the Spanish government had repeatedly and solemnly engaged to disarm and to disperse.

"His Majesty leaves no effort unexhausted to awaken the Spanish government to the dangerous consequences of this apparent connivance.

"His Majesty makes this communication to the House of Commons, with the full and entire confidence that his faithful Commons will afford to his Majesty their cordial concurrence and support, in maintaining the faith of treaties, and in securing, against foreign hostility, the safety and independence of the kingdom of Portugal, the oldest ally of Great Britain.

"G. R."

Mr. Canning's speech the following day on this motion,* we omit. When war is decided upon, it is a minister's *acts*, not his *speeches*, that should find record; and no country, no era can furnish a greater instance of celerity, than that evinced on this occasion. News of the events that occasioned the employment of an armed force arrived on the *night* of the 8th. The King's message was brought to the House (Sunday intervening) on the 11th; the discussion took place the following day; and, *early on the morning of the 14th*, our troops commenced their march! The force employed will be seen by the following extract from the press of the 15th of December, announcing their departure:—

"About eight o'clock yesterday morning, the right

* The speech has been published as a pamphlet, and is too voluminous for our pages.

wing of the second battalion of the third regiment of foot guards, left the Mews, Charing Cross, and proceeded to the Bird Cage Walk, in St. James's Park, where they were drawn up, and marched off, the band playing an enlivening air. The men were in most excellent spirits and condition. The crowd presented laurels to the soldiers, as they passed along, and exclaimed, 'Bravo, my boys, you are sure of success.' Several of the spectators also shook hands with the officers, who appeared delighted with the good feeling and affection displayed towards them and the soldiers. At Battersea, the band quitted the regiment, and they then proceeded with the 'merry fife and drum.' The first battalion of the duke of York's regiment (the first foot guards) are ordered to leave Portman Barracks this day, at one o'clock. There is a general order given for the cavalry at Knightsbridge to hold themselves in readiness. It is said, that two detachments of the royal horse guards (blue) will be sent off in the course of this week. Captain Fairfield, on the Bird Cage Walk, unluckily lost his Waterloo medal; and, although he offered a handsome reward to the finder to restore it, we did not hear that he succeeded in recovering it.

"The tenth (North Lincoln) regiment of foot, now stationed at Limerick, and the eleventh (North Devon) regiment of infantry, at present stationed at Waterford, have received orders to prepare for immediate embarkation at Cork for Portugal.*

"The bustle in sending off troops continues with increasing energy. The *George the Fourth* steam-boat, which arrived in the river on Wednesday from Lisbon, will sail this day with four or five hundred troops. The

* Several other detachments were despatched in a few days, and the entire force embarked on the 31st of December.

English merchants, who have large properties at Oporto, have applied to government for immediate protection, the place being threatened by a column of three thousand rebels."

Perhaps the firmest opposers of a standing army will admit, that, in a case like this, its utility at least counterbalances its expense.

By the first of January, letters from Lisbon arrived, expressing the gratitude of the Portuguese, for the prompt assistance afforded them.

This was the first occasion on which steam-boats were used for the exportation of troops.

A melancholy event marked the commencement of the year 1827, a year during which this country was bereaved of some of its brightest ornaments.* His royal highness the duke of York had long been in a declining state; throughout the month of December, his dissolution was daily expected. On the 2d of January, the public press announced, "that it was considered not impossible that his royal highness might linger a day or two more." After this announcement, there was of course no room for hope; every hour, it was anticipated, would bring the intelligence of the duke's demise. On the 5th of January he expired.

The disease under which his royal highness languished was originally dropsy; and it is said, that after he had been tapped twice or thrice, a decoction of *genista*, or common broom root, was administered in frequent doses, and that it proved very beneficial in promoting the secretion of urine, and invigorating and giving tone to the stomach. Sir Astley Cooper was, at the express desire

* On the 31st of December, 1826, Gifford, the celebrated critic and satirist, died.

of his Majesty, consulted, and he prescribed a combination of the blue and the squill pills, to be added to the broom; which had so happy an effect, that sanguine hope was entertained, for some days, that his life would be prolonged many months. The swelling of the legs decreased, and the ill-conditioned ulcers exhibited a more favourable appearance. When dropsy is the consequence of what is generally termed a breaking up of the system, the serum is diffused in almost every part of the body that will admit it. In such a case, the stomach is in such a debilitated state, that the most powerful tonic medicine will have little or no effect upon it; and, in order to keep up the vital powers, the most potent stimulants, with spirits, are freely administered; and when the stomach is not susceptible of their action, life ceases. In the case of his royal highness, the *fox-glove*, the *elaterium*, and the other common *diuretic* medicines, were tried in the early stages of the disorder, and were allowed a fair trial; but the stamina of the duke was so impaired, that all the efforts of physicians and medicine failed.

A journal that, during the duke's illness, had stated, that the world said of him, that he had never broken a promise, or deserted a friend, wrote very strongly upon the failings of his royal highness, the morning after his decease. This article excited a feeling against the journal in the minds of many, and was severely reprobated; and, perhaps, divided public attention with some speeches of triumph, attributed to certain Irish orators, who regarded the death of his royal highness as the removal of a grand obstacle to the hope of Catholic Emancipation.

With regard to the first of these attacks, we must say, that (differing very materially from the opinions of the writer) we admire the *candour*, though we cannot agree with the opinions, of that article. The conduct of *The*

Times, in fact, in many cases, is hasty—in some, vindictive—but it is always open. There is no journal that so uniformly takes the high independent ground of stating facts, (or what they believe to be facts,) without favour or apology. It is proper that princes should be spoken of with respect, but that respect must not go so far as to distort truth, and turn biography into eulogy. *The Times*, actuated by a very proper feeling, "smoothed the pillow" of the sufferer, and did not "vex the dying ear" of the duke with reproaches for actions he could not recal; but, as it strongly and justly urged, after the duke's death his actions, his faults, his follies, had become matters of historical record. Whilst his royal highness lived, they respected him—after his death, respect for the public and for truth should influence the historian. The article in question gave great pain, it was said, to the highest personage in this kingdom, and incurred the reprobation of the ministry, particularly Mr. Canning. The first statement we believe; the second, as regards our hero, we do not. The censure of those we love, even when our judgment approves its truth, awakens our anger as well as our regret; and this is a noble weakness in our nature. But time, that takes the virulence from the wound, and the fire from revenge, awakens our reason and our justice, whilst it bids our resentments and our feelings slumber; and we think we can judge sufficiently of the noble mind of that great personage, to affirm, that after the first emotion caused by that extraordinary paper* had subsided, his grief that that article had been written was infinitely less than his pleasure at finding he had one

* The article alluded to will be found in *The Times*, January 6, 1827.

journalist in his dominions, who had candour and courage enough to pen it.

With regard to the oratory in the sister kingdom, whether it is considered with reference to what was said when his royal highness's demise was anticipated, or to what was reported to have been uttered by one of the celebrated orators after his death, we presume there can be but one opinion. To hope for the death of any being, and to rejoice at his dissolution, because he differed in a matter of opinion, is unchristianlike, as well as unmanly; and unpolitical, as ill calculated to aid the cause the parties accused advocated. The impression made by what was actually said, and what was reported to have been said, respecting his royal highness, has done more harm to the Catholic cause, than any of the members of the Catholic association can ever effect good. The cold-blooded malignity, that could goad the sufferer on his bed of pain, by breathing forth a hope for his dissolution, calls for no reprobation from the press—it finds a sufficient check in the hearts of the hearers. To the honour of the country and the cause, the feeling of resentment towards his royal highness was *generally* extinct at his demise; and the beautiful lines, attributed to Ireland's greatest poet, that appeared in *The Times* of the 11th of January, speak the feelings of a Catholic, a Christian, and a man.

"He had pledged a hate unto me and mine,
He had left to the future nor hope nor choice,
But seal'd that hate with a name divine,
And he now was dead, and—I couldn't rejoice!

He had fann'd afresh the burning brands
Of a bigotry, waxing cold and dim;
He had arm'd anew my torturer's hands,
And them did I curse—but sigh'd for him.

For his was the error of head, not heart,
And—oh, how beyond the ambush'd foe,
Who to enmity adds the traitor's part,
And carries a smile, with a curse below!

If ever a heart made bright amends
For the fatal fault of an erring head—
Go, learn his fame from the lips of friends,
In the orphan's tear be his glory read.

A prince without pride—a man without guile,
To the last unchanging, warm, sincere,
For worth he had ever a hand, a smile,
And for misery ever his purse and tear."

The body of his royal highness was embalmed; the lying in state commenced on the 18th, admission by tickets was arranged to be from 10 till 11. After 11, when the public were to be promiscuously admitted, a dense crowd had assembled, a mass of many thousands, amongst whom (though of all classes) not one was observed out of mourning. The crowd of elegantly-dressed females was immense, and the solemn scene was invaded by their screams, when the immense pressure bore them along with the countertide of passengers. Hundreds of well-dressed women were seen walking home with handkerchiefs bound round their feet, having lost their shoes in the vain endeavour to approach the palace.

On the 20th, the funeral of his royal highness took place. At half past seven o'clock in the morning, the private carriage of the late lamented duke was brought into the flag-yard of the palace, the hearse soon followed. At eight o'clock the procession began to move. Twelve mourners, and the same number of marshalmen, on horseback, led the procession, followed by the knights marshalmen on foot; then followed, in mourning coaches, in procession, the servants, the pages, the medical attendants and

private chaplain, the secretaries, the aides-de-camps, the equerries, garter principal king at arms and assistants. After the mourning coaches, came a troop of life-guards, with their swords reversed under their right arms. When the hearse entered the street, the lancers, who were patroling it, reversed their lances, and kept them so during the remainder of the day. After the hearse, which was flanked on each side by ten yeomen of the guard, had taken its place in the procession, the word was again given to move on; and immediately afterwards two squadrons of life guards, who had come out of the park, fell into its rear. The lancers, who had been patroling the street, filed into their places as the procession passed them, and thus another squadron of horse was gradually added to it. The carriages of the different members of the royal family then followed in the order of their rank, commencing with that of the king, and ending with that of prince Leopold; and by their side walked mourners, with funeral truncheons. The whole procession was closed by twenty mourners on horseback.

The procession moved up Piccadilly through an enormous crowd, and followed by many persons who had witnessed its departure from the palace. The shops, without any exception, were closed, but the windows were thronged with spectators, and several houses had placards intimating that there were places to let within.

From Hyde-park-corner to Knightsbridge, the houses, even the roofs of some of them, were filled with spectators; and the wall and iron railings of the park were also covered with persons, who had not hesitated to struggle for, and afterwards to preserve, an uneasy seat for some hours before the procession passed.

The procession left Knightsbridge with the numbers of

its followers considerably increased from the spectators at that place. Every avenue and road in Hyde-park was filled before eight o'clock, with persons who were hastening through to reach Kensington, for the purpose of getting a sight of the procession as it passed. The number of pedestrians must have amounted to several thousands, and the carriages and horsemen were proportionably numerous. The whole line of wall from the barracks at Knightsbridge was covered with persons, who, notwithstanding the cold air of the morning, kept their positions until the funeral procession had passed. The trees in the park were also filled with spectators.

At Holland-house, the yeomen of the guard and the detachment of lancers quitted the procession.

The thousands who accompanied the procession could get little refreshment. Hounslow was in a state of famine, a small joint of mutton actually having sold for 25*s.* in consequence of the demand.

About two o'clock, the cavalcade stopped at Cranford-bridge. The mourners alighted from the carriages, and endeavoured to obtain such refreshments as could be procured in the few houses of entertainment which the place contains. A party of fresh troops was stationed here, which joined the procession when it again set forward. After an interval of about two hours, the cavalcade formed in order, and once more moved on, still preceded and followed by a large body of persons on horse, and on foot, and in carriages. Soon after passing through Colnebrook, darkness having come on, the soldiers (every fourth man) in the procession lighted the torches which they had carried with them from Cranford-bridge. The cavalcade now presented a more striking appearance than it had done at any other period of the march; for the glare of the torches, reflected upon the dress and arms of

the life guards, had a novel and rather grand effect. In this way the procession passed through Datchett, and shortly before eight o'clock reached Frogmore, where it was appointed that their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence, Sussex, and Glocester, should join the procession, together with the various members of the royal household. From Frogmore to Windsor the road was lined with soldiers, many of them bearing torches.

The procession arrived at Frogmore at eight o'clock, and passed through Park-street towards the Castle. A few minutes before nine it reached St. George's chapel.

The church procession was led by the pages, solicitor, apothecary, surgeons, and physicians of the duke, and by the principal law officers. To these succeeded the bishops and archbishops. The supporters of the pall were, the dukes of Beaufort, Wellington, Dorset, Northumberland, Rutland, and Newcastle. The duke of Clarence was the chief mourner. He was followed by the dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, sir Herbert Taylor and colonel Stephenson, the lord chancellor, the earls of Liverpool, Harrowby, and Westmoreland, lords Maryborough and Melville, Mr. Canning, Mr. Peel, Mr. Huskisson, and the speaker of the House of Commons.

The ceremony lasted two hours. The weather was intensely severe, and the cold in the chapel so great, that many persons were nearly benumbed. The lord chancellor placed his hat under his feet, and thus averted the dangers, that standing on the vault stones for such a period presented. Had the other mourners adopted this precaution, England would, in all probability, not now have had to mourn the losses she has recently sustained.

Mr. Canning left Windsor, with the earl of Liverpool, for Bath, where the countess then was. Whilst there,

The Lord's Letter presented to Mr Canning.

LONDON
C. Vatine, 24, Cornhill, Pub.

the freedom of the city, in a gold box, was presented to him by the mayor, Eleazer Pickwick, esq. in the name of himself and the corporation.

The earl and Mr. Canning were both soon afterwards taken ill, as were the dukes of Montrose and Wellington. Their indisposition was attributed to colds caught during their attendance at the funeral. Mr. Canning could not attend the King's council, on the 4th of February, and was confined to his bed at the meeting of Parliament, (the 8th.) The duke of Sussex was also confined to his house by an inflammation of the chest, brought on by cold.

Up to the 15th of February, Mr. Canning's state was considered dangerous. The question of Catholic Emancipation was postponed twice, in the hope of his powerful aid. From the 16th he improved rapidly.

On the 17th, the earl of Liverpool was seized with a fit of paralysis, and it was considered doubtful if he could survive through the night. He was speechless, and had lost the use of one side.

We would impress upon the mind of the reader, that at the time this occurred, and when a journal, that is supposed to *lead* the opinions of a large majority of the public, said, "*t' prime minister is politically dead*," Mr. Canning was confined to his room, though not his bed, and could not have seized that moment (as asserted) to exert any influence he might have possessed, in bringing about the extraordinary revolution that subsequently occurred in the Cabinet.

Mr. Canning had an audience with his Majesty (of short duration) on the 22d.

On the 1st of March, Mr. Canning appeared in the House of Commons, and opened the debate on the Corn

Laws. On the adjourned debate of the Catholic Question, Mr. Canning did not speak till very late in the evening, after sir J. Newport, sir Francis Burdett, Messrs. Plunkett, Brougham, Davis, Peel, Goulburn, the master of the rolls, &c. &c. had spoken. He alluded to the offer of securities that he had introduced, *i. e.* "That the King should nominate the Catholic bishops, and that the private correspondence between the court of Rome and the professors of the Catholic religion, should be submitted to the inspection of the government."

"Since 1813," continued Mr. Canning, "I have not meddled with the hopeless labour of devising securities that are sure to be rejected."

* * *

"In Prussia, this power of nomination of the Catholic bishops prevails. The king of the Netherlands is in treaty for a similar power. So is the court of Saxony. But how do *they* obtain it? They go to the fountain head—to the court of Rome. They have means which we have not. I saw in a popular book, that 'to correspond with the Pope was high treason;' and therefore, when the Pope addressed a letter to our gracious King, on being restored to his see, I took the advice of the law officers of the Crown, who were of opinion, that in answering the Pope's letter I should incur a *premunire*."

Mr. Canning read the opinion of Messrs. Gifford and Copley to this effect, amid loud shouts of laughter. Mr. Canning proceeded thus:—"I, being an ignorant person, looked into Burn's Justice, where I found that the penalties attached to a premunire were *merely* attainder, forfeiture of my goods, incapacity to bring actions, and that I might be slain by any one. As this is a matter

touching life and fortune, I cannot be expected to go to the Pope of Rome; and yet to the Pope of Rome we must go, if we would have any security."

Mr. Canning then proceeded, in a more serious tone, to advocate the cause, indulging in occasional sarcasms* on its opponents. He defended the memory of Mr. Pitt, and said, "It was that minister's intention to carry the Catholic Question, and he (Mr. Canning) was ready to depose to the truth of that assertion before any tribunal." The motion, was, however, lost by a majority of four. Mr. Canning's exertions on this question were attended with bad consequences—a relapse of his disorder, and he was again confined to his house.

The correspondence relative to commercial intercourse between the United States and the British West India colonies, by Mr. Canning and A. Gallatin, esq. was laid before the public in March; and, though it tended to shew the impossibility of any immediate negociations at that time, proved satisfactory to this country.

On Mr. Canning's recovery, he paid a visit to his Majesty. The dukes of Wellington and Devonshire, lords Granville, Carlisle, Morpeth, and Clancarty, and the princes Levien and Polignac, were also visitors.

On the 2d of April a Cabinet meeting took place, and the discussions lasted several hours. On the 3d, sir Thomas Lethbridge gave notice of a motion, "That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, praying, that he would be pleased to take into consideration, in the appointment of an administration, the great

* One of the subjects of Mr. Canning's ridicule was an affidavit, in which a man deposed, that "a priest had threatened to kick a Protestant's soul, and make it fly round hell, like a blue bottle round a treacle barrel, which (continued the affidavit) this deponent verily believes *he would have done.*"

importance of unanimity in any Cabinet on questions affecting the vital interests of the empire."

This motion excited the derision of many members on both sides of the House, and sir Thomas subsequently abandoned it. On the same day, the duke of Rutland (it was asserted) had an interview with his Majesty, and said, "He was authorised, by certain peers, to lay before his Majesty their respectful determination not to support Mr. Canning,* should his Majesty, in the exercise of his prerogative, make him Prime Minister."

These facts are sufficient to shew what the general impression and expectation was. In fact, the call of the country—the *vox populi* was for our hero—it seemed as if every individual, whether his friends or foes, had agreed, that Canning only could be the man his Majesty would select.

The offer of premiership was then made—Mr. Canning agreeing to give up his right to dictate church preferment; this Mr. Canning resolutely refused.

On the 12th April, Mr. C. Wynn rose, and said, "I move for a new writ for the borough of Newport, (Isle of Wight,) the right hon. George Canning having accepted the office of first commissioner of the Treasury."

The cheers of the house on this announcement were deafening—whilst the passiveness of a particular body of members was no less remarkable.

The following correspondence† passed between the duke of Wellington and our hero:—

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* In this declaration, it has been since said, the dukes of Beaufort and Newcastle, and lord Lonsdale, concurred.

† There is, in the mere commencement of these epistles, an index to the feelings that dictated them:—

First letters { "My *dear* Duke." / "My *dear* Canning." } Second do. { "My *lord* Duke." / "Sir." }

Mr. Canning to the Duke of Wellington.

"My dear Duke,—I am commanded by his Majesty to form a new administration. It will be a great satisfaction to me if your Grace will consent to become a member of it.

"I am, &c.

"G. Canning."

The Duke of Wellington to Mr. Canning.

"My dear Mr. Canning,—Before I reply to your letter, I wish to be informed who is to be the head of the new ministry, and which of my former colleagues are to form a part of it.

"I am, &c.

"Wellington."

Mr. Canning to the Duke of Wellington.

"My lord Duke,—After I had informed your Grace that I had received his Majesty's commands to form an administration, I am surprised that it should be inquired from me who is to be at the head of it? I am to be that person.

"I remain, &c.

"G. Canning."

The Duke of Wellington to Mr. Canning.

"Sir,—I have only to say, in reply to your letter, that I cannot consent to become a member of the new administration.

"I remain, &c.

"Wellington."

This correspondence was laid before the King; and the duke, under feelings of great irritation, sent in his resignation to his Majesty; from whom he received a communication to the following effect:—

"The King receives the duke of Wellington's resignation with the same sentiments of regret which his Grace professes to feel in tendering it."

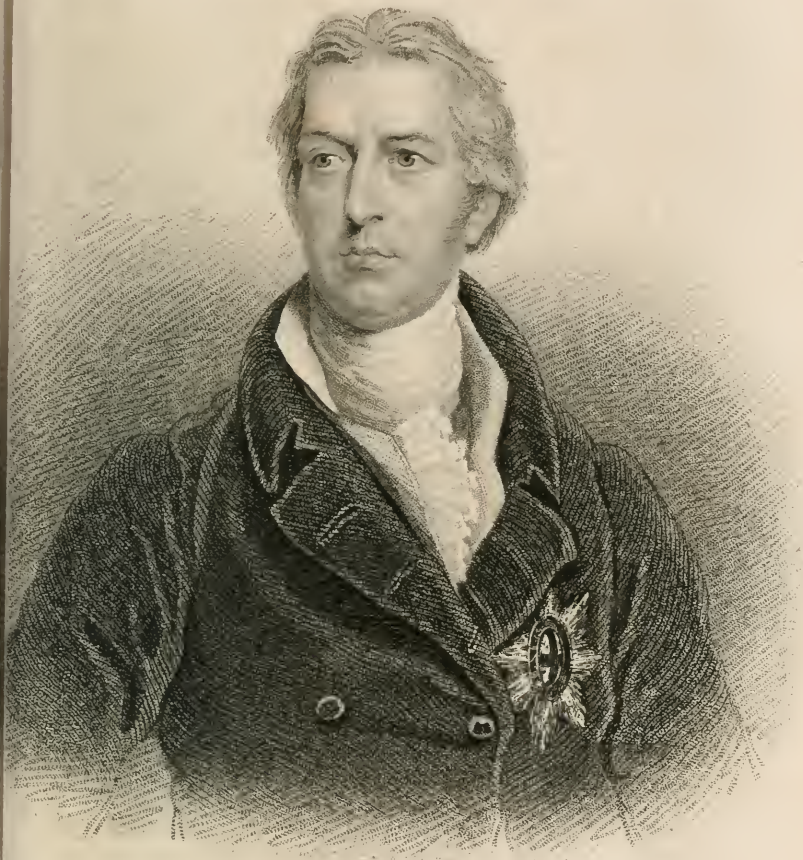
After the duke of Wellington's resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, master of the ordnance, &c. which he had so lately attained, on the death of the duke

of York,—the lord chancellor, Mr. Peel, and lords Bathurst, Melville, and Westmoreland, also resigned.

The sensation produced by these secessions it is impossible to describe. The retirement of Mr. Peel was peculiarly regretted—a party, and no inconsiderable one, having thought that Mr. Peel would have been selected as premier. The following observations upon this act of the official personages are important.

"Thus, therefore, does the procedure which we have been describing, appear to assume the character of a conspiracy! A conspiracy against the country, to stop the measures which were benevolently proposed for the relief of its starving population; and a conspiracy against the Sovereign, to force him to accept a ministry against his will—a ministry proposed by the conspirators themselves. It was in a crisis exactly similar to the present, that his late Majesty, George the Third, showed such firmness, and by his firmness triumphed, at what may be called an early period of his protracted reign. Then it was that a combination of ex-ministers and would-be ministers undertook to forbid the King from consulting with Mr. Pitt, or appointing that gentleman, almost a minor, his Prime Minister. The story is clearly told in the matter-of-fact history of bishop Tomline; and nothing has tended more to elevate the character of his late Majesty, or to convey to the country and to posterity a higher idea of his magnanimity than the prelate's narrative.

"Our relation, however, would be imperfect and partial, if we omitted to mention some early circumstances connected with this affair. We have no doubt, that previous notice was given to Mr. Canning of the intention of the seceders to retire, should he be appointed Prime Minister; they would serve with him on equal terms, some other nominal head being appointed; they would



Right Hon.ble the Earl of

Liverpool

not act under him! But how, we ask, being called on by the King to form a ministry, could Mr. Canning decline the task? In what terms could he convey the refusal to his Majesty? 'I am greatly honoured by this mark of the royal confidence, but I dare not undertake the duty. Those who oppose my elevation would be too strong for me, would be too strong for your Majesty. They have given us notice, they will not suffer your Majesty to perform this act of the royal prerogative: you must, therefore, submit to their dictation!' "

The press of this country, with very few exceptions, congratulated the kingdom on his Majesty's choice; and all the French journals (except the *Quotidienne)* spoke in terms of rejoicing.

On a subject so important, so unprecedented, as this, no biographer could hope to satisfy his readers. Difficult as it is sometimes to detail men's actions, it is *impossible* to define their motives. Where all is surmise, error is to a degree inevitable. All that remains to be done in such a case, is to compare the different statements; to make due allowances for the party feelings that dictated each, and decide between them. On this principle, the following observations have been selected; and we have unceremoniously taken advantage of the thoughts and words of others, and even amalgamated them with our own. The difficulty of the subject is a justifiable motive; and this frank avowal our excuse.*

The moment it was ascertained that lord Liverpool could never resume office, Mr. Canning felt the perils

* In the future pages will be found the explanations given by the parties themselves of their conduct; which may be taken fairly as a set-off for the adoption of public sentiments.

which surrounded his situation. Feared, rather than loved, by his most influential colleagues, he had to guard himself against wiles and treachery. The candour and friendship of lord Liverpool preserved him from both, during the sway of that noble lord in the Cabinet; but even there, of late, during the momentous changes which Mr. Canning conducted with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the country, he had, notwithstanding the support of the late Premier, to encounter the decided opposition of lord chancellor Eldon, whose microscopic mind, and habits of tedious and minute technical investigation, could not be brought immediately to comprehend the great and general bearings of those political changes in the world, which Mr. Canning beheld with a statesman's eye, and wished to seize with a statesman's hand, for the benefit of his country.

The old chancellor hated Mr. Canning for his persevering and uncompromising advocacy of the Catholic Question—he hated him for deserting the Cabinet upon that most melancholy affair of the late Queen, and he sneered at him behind his back; while, in his presence, he affected that sort of supercilious deference which the old lawyer was in the habit of affecting towards Mr. Brougham, when that gentleman, at rare intervals, appeared with a brief in his court. The lord chancellor stayed for more than three months Mr. Canning's recognition of the new States of South America; and the sort of support which he gave to the late military occupation of Portugal—a measure originating with Mr. Canning himself, for the maintenance of the national faith,—was of a nature to mar the whole project, if lord Liverpool had not flung around it the shield of his protection and support.

Mr. Canning had then no difficulty in foreseeing the

predicament in which he would be placed, when the lord chancellor became the head of the Cabinet: he met his situation firmly, but courteously—he wished to add, not to impair, the strength of the ministry—he contemplated an accession of strength, not to himself individually, but to the government as a body, from the addition to its members of some of the great parties in the country, who had, of late, supported his Majesty's policy without the rank or patronage of office. Mr. Canning, however, soon found, that the party of which the lord chancellor was the head, had taken not only a different view of the new policy of the administration, but also of his own relative rank within their circle. To deny him high place, would be to have denied themselves the support and advantage of his great talents, and to have rendered their system, be it what it might, helpless in the House of Commons, before the united attack of the great leaders of the Opposition. But they hit upon another project, which was worthy of its authors; and it was this:—to prevail upon Mr. Canning to retain his place as foreign secretary and leader in the House of Commons, but to strip him of that which they cared not for themselves, namely, the real dignity with which the chief member of the government ought to be invested, for the maintenance of his influence and utility with foreign states; for this purpose, lord Bathurst, or lord anybody else, was to be named first lord of the treasury, having, as it were, the nominal supremacy, and leaving Mr. Canning the rank of only one of "The Three Kings of Brentford." Of the combination thus formed against the Minister, it is due to Mr. Peel to state, that he was only in appearance a member of it; and if Mr. Canning would only have consented to continue a divided government

in Ireland—that is, to have, in that already sufficiently distracted country, what lord Chatham called "a dove-tailed Cabinet—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white,"—Mr. Peel would have retained his office, and acted cordially under the new Premier. All he asked was, the continuance of Mr. Goulburn as chief secretary to the marquis Wellesley, as lord lieutenant. This Mr. Canning could not concede, and Mr. Peel retired, as he expressed it, to save "his own consistency."

While these proceedings were pending, the lord chancellor drilled his party in regular array, and the watch-word for action was the first movement of Mr. Canning. The latter tendered his resignation to the King, upon the avowed ground of his not possessing, upon certain great leading questions, the entire confidence of some of his principal colleagues. The King instantly refused to accept the proffered resignation, and assured Mr. Canning that he possessed *his* entire confidence and support.

The lord chancellor summoned "his vassals to the field;" and, warning them of the importance of a united movement, induced them to put their confidence into his keeping, and to act as he would do, under particular circumstances. He said plainly, that if the reins of government were placed in the hands of Mr. Canning, he would tender his resignation; and he added, that if others acted with him as a firm phalanx, a certain great personage must yield to his love of ease, and send for them back upon their own terms. The opinion of lord Eldon was adopted—the parties agreed to place their offices in his hands, and he "took them home," as he was used to do the papers in the court of Chancery.

It may be objected to this statement, that the noble lord and his colleagues denied having acted in concert.

Eldon

We disclaim any intention of personal offence when we say, that in making this statement, his lordship deceived himself, but not the country. It does not follow, as a natural consequence, that proceedings are concerted, because they are simultaneous. We perfectly believe the noble lord's statement to be literally and critically true. We do not believe that the parties met, and said, "let us resign;" but it is perfectly possible for any set of men to THINK a resolution, to "give it an understanding, but no tongue," and to be as well assured of each other's sentiments and intentions, as if they had been uttered and declared.

A dislike to men, instead of measures, is unworthy of an enlightened ministry; yet the resignations were made on personal grounds alone; for, with the exception of the one great question, we do not suppose the chancellor himself would have chosen to avow himself hostile to Mr. Canning's general policy. The efforts of Mr. Canning's enemies were, however, frustrated by the firmness of his Majesty.

Mr. Canning had early apprised the King, that if his Majesty meant to honour him with his most gracious support, he would have to exercise a painful activity in the arrangements of the new ministry. It is but justice to his Majesty to state, that he persevered in the course which it became him to take, and resented firmly and promptly the indignity and ingratitude which he had suffered from men who owed him a better allegiance. By a bold and masterly movement, his Majesty, on the same day that lord Melville retired from the Admiralty, placed his royal highness the duke of Clarence at its head—thus affording Mr. Canning the countenance and support of the Throne, even in the person of the Heir Apparent.

The length of time which elapsed before the King's decision was made, arose out of the natural and amiable reluctance which his Majesty felt, to part with the men who had for so many years surrounded his throne, especially one individual whom he honoured with peculiar marks of confidence and esteem. Their conduct put an end to all the scruples suggested by delicacy or feeling on their account. The pretensions they advanced, if not to dictate to the King, to exercise a veto upon his choice, were not only personally offensive to his Majesty, but at once identified the royal dignity and independence with that appointment which the public wish, as well as the public exigencies, had already pointed out. Whatever may be the ultimate result of these changes, one immense good was accomplished, in getting rid of this batch of old tories, who have stuck like leeches to the state, and have sucked away the blood without producing any salutary effect upon the system. Every body agreed, that they had been too long in office. They had accustomed themselves to consider their places as a species of property; any interference with which they deemed a personal affront; and no reform or measure of public utility was to be thought of, which might probably militate against the prejudices, or curtail the emoluments, of any of the tribe. The glorious exploits of the duke of Wellington did not entitle him to dictate to his King what ministers he should choose—what measures he should adopt. Great generals are not always able statesmen. Marlborough and Eugene, indeed, were equally celebrated in the cabinet and the field; but Turenne, Conde, and Villars, were never called to the councils of Louis the Fourteenth.

The new ministry were gazetted on the 27th of April.

Four of Mr. Canning's colleagues kept their stations, or rather still remained in office;* and the vacancies caused by the secessions were filled up by distinguished whigs. Mr. Canning was too wise to attempt to form an administration out of a coterie of his private friends, and too spirited to succumb to those who had deserted him. Mr. Canning had only left, therefore, an honourable alliance with the whigs, or an ignominious surrender to his enemies. He chose the former, and the voice of his country approved that choice.

On the 30th of April, his Majesty held a court at St. James's. Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Westmoreland, and Mr. Peel, severally had audiences with his Majesty, and resigned the seals of their respective offices. The new ministers also kissed hands on their appointments; and Messrs. Scarlett and Hart received the honours of knighthood. Mr. Canning, on going to and returning from court, was loudly and unanimously cheered by an assemblage, far exceeding in numbers and respectability the crowd that usually surround the Palace on such

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* The appointments were as follow:—

Mr. Canning, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

Marquis of Anglesea, master of the ordnance.

Duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain.

Duke of Portland, privy seal.

Lord Dudley, secretary for foreign affairs.

Mr. Sturges Bourne, home department.

Mr. Robinson, (created lord Goderich,) colonies.

Lord Harrowby, president of the council.

Lord Bexley, lord Palmerston, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Huskisson, } retained their stations.

Sir John Copley, (created lord Lyndhurst,) lord chancellor.

Sir John Leach, master of the rolls.

Sir Anthony Hart, vice chancellor.

Sir James Scarlett, attorney-general.

occasions. The duke of Wellington was the only seceder who did not attend formally to resign his office.

Parliament met the following day; on the motion for a new writ for Ashburton, in consequence of Mr. Bourne's appointment, Mr. Peel rose, and, after some preliminary observations, proceeded thus:—

"The grounds on which I retired from office are simply these:—I have taken, from the first moment of my public life, an active and decided part on a great and vital question—that of the extension of political privileges to the Roman Catholics."

* * *

"For eighteen years I have constantly offered an uncompromising, but, I hope, a temperate, fair, and constitutional resistance to every proposition for granting any further concessions to them."

* * *

"My opposition is founded on principle. I think that the continuance of those bars which prevent the acquisition of political power by the Catholics, is necessary for the maintenance of the constitution, and the interests of the established church. This being the broad, distinct, and intelligible ground which I have all along taken, I leave it to be judged by the country at large, whether or no there was any sufficient reason to induce me to acquiesce in an arrangement, calculated to promote an object I have constantly and strenuously resisted. I saw no such reason, and therefore determined to retire from public service, should my right honourable friend be placed at the head of the Treasury. Had his (Mr. Canning's) opinion on this question been changed, I should have been bound, from a rigid sense of public duty, to have accepted office under my right honourable friend's administration, and to have kept myself free from any,

even the most distant suspicion, of being actuated by private feelings."

* * *

"It is not merely that my right honourable friend differs in opinion from me on *this* important question, but that the change in the administration occasions the transfer of all that influence and power which belongs to the office of Prime Minister, to the hands of one who will use it for the purpose of forwarding the object I have always resisted. It is not a transfer of that influence and power, from one ordinary man to another ordinary man, but a transfer from the most able opponent of the Catholic claims to their most zealous and eloquent advocate."

Speaking of his colleagues who had resigned, Mr. Peel said:—"The course pursued by each of those individuals is not only perfectly justifiable, but, with their impressions and views of public service, one which ought to be held up as a great and a splendid example to all public men.

"The charge of the late Ministers having acted in concert, or in the spirit of cabal, is not only not true, but directly the reverse of truth. There might be the appearance of concert; because, in fact, there was no concert. If the late ministers had been base enough to concert and cabal against their Sovereign, it is probable they would have been cunning enough to have taken care not to let him know it."

* * *

"I never communicated with the lord chancellor, as to the course I intended to pursue. I never opened my lips to him, until the day on which my right honourable friend was ordered by his Majesty to reconstruct the administration. I knew not his lordship's intentions—his lordship was unacquainted with mine—and the same may, I believe, be said of every other member of the Cabinet."

Mr. Peel's speech was received with the loudest cheers, and it was followed by an eulogium from Brougham, that does equal honour to the heads and hearts of both of these great men.

Mr. Canning rose, amid loud cheers, and from his speech the following points are selected :—

"The House greatly mistakes my situation, (said Mr. Canning,) if they believe it is one of gratified ambition. From the beginning of the discussions on the Catholic claims, I felt that our separation* was inevitable, and not far remote. Would to God that I could now persuade myself, that my honourable friend's retirement will be but for a short time ! Had the necessity, which has made the resignation of one of us inevitable, been left in my hands, my decision would have been in favour of my own resignation, and against that of my right hon. friend. The courtesy of my right hon. friend has induced him to acquaint me with his intention of speaking to-night. I have, therefore, consulted the will of my royal master, from whom I have obtained permission to publish such parts of the late negociations, as are necessary for my vindication. True it is,—and why should I deny it?—I was called upon by his Majesty for my advice, or rather, I ought to say, for my opinion, on the occasion alluded to. I did then, if I may presume to say it, give my counsel to the King, that his Majesty ought, under the circumstances in which he felt himself placed, to make a government conformable to that lately conducted by the earl of Liverpool. At the same time I laid my resignation at the feet of my Sovereign."

* * *

"My first object was, to quit office ; my next, to remain

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* *i. e.* Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel's.

in it, with all my old colleagues, exactly upon the same terms as we have hitherto acted towards each other, upon this very Catholic Question."

* * *

"When I was charged with bringing in an undue proportion of members of the Cabinet favourable to the Catholic Question, the hon. member forgot to state, that the Protestant half of the Cabinet had voluntarily thought proper to resign. Within twenty-four hours, five of the Anti-Catholic members of the late Cabinet, upon whose support I firmly reckoned, resigned. Is it, after that act of my late colleagues, that any honourable members, acquainted too with what had occurred, can fairly impute to me a wilful non-execution of the orders of my Sovereign? But did my conduct end here? It was about the middle of Thursday, and two hours before the meeting of the House, when I had given directions for moving the new writ for myself, that I received these unexpected resignations; and, in consequence, I repaired to the King with them in my hand, and said, 'Sire, here see what disables me from executing your Majesty's will. It is quite open for you still to take a new course of policy, respecting the foundation of your government; nothing has been yet done, which commits your Majesty to any particular line of conduct; but I must fairly crave permission to state to you, that, if I am to go on in the formation of a new administration, my new writ must be moved for this night; for I cannot move on through the recess (Easter,) without endeavouring to finish the business.' I will not presume to repeat the words which the King was graciously pleased to address to me on that occasion; suffice it to say, his Majesty gave me his hand to kiss, and my writ was instantly made out, to be used on that evening."

* * *

Mr. Canning concluded his luminous speech with these words:—

"In the year 1822, I was appointed to an office fraught with wealth, honour, and ambition. From that office I was called, not only not on my own seeking, but contrary to my own wish, and I made a sacrifice—a sacrifice, be it remembered, of no inconsiderable nature, to a poor man; and the offer of a share in the administration was made to me,—so help me, God,—without any stipulation. But, if that offer had been made—(as it should have been, if I was to have been ousted now)—if that offer had been made with this condition, that if the highest place in the administration should become vacant, I was to recollect that the opinion which I held on the Catholic Question was to be a bar to my succeeding to it; I would have turned the offer back with the disdain with which I turned back that of serving under a Protestant Premier, (using the term Protestant in the familiar manner in which we are accustomed to use it,) as the badge of my helotism, and the condition of my place."

The following day, in the upper House, the duke of Wellington spoke with much more vehemence, and at much greater length than usual with his Grace. His leading observations were as follows:—

"It is no answer to my view of the subject to tell me, that the present Cabinet act upon the same principles with that of which lord Liverpool had been at the head. I say, that the two Cabinets materially differ, and the chief difference between them is this: That the Cabinet of lord Liverpool was founded on the principle of maintaining the laws, as they now are; whilst that of the right hon. gentleman is founded on the principle of subverting them. Those who formed part of lord Liverpool's Cabinet know well what it was to which they pledged themselves; for

they know that his lordship was conscientiously opposed to all changes in the existing form of government. But those who coalesce with the right hon. gentleman have no idea how far their coalition will carry them. The right hon. gentleman is the most able, active, and zealous partisan of those changes with which the country is at present threatened. The principles of the noble earl were principles by which any man might safely abide: the principles of the right honourable gentleman fluctuate every day."

"I understand that the right honourable gentleman states to his personal friends, that my letter to him of the 10th instant, in which I inquired who was at the head of government, gave him great offence; and I, therefore, wish the point to be fully examined before your lordships, in order that you may see whether any thing was then done by me, which could justify him in taking offence. I must here inform your lordships, that early in the month of April, I cannot precisely mention the day, I had a conversation with the right honourable gentleman, in which he stated to me, that in case his Majesty should desire him to reconstruct the government, one of his plans was to recommend that Mr. Robinson, then chancellor of the exchequer, should be called up to your lordship's House, and should be made first lord of the Treasury; and I confess to your lordships that it was my intention, if I had heard anything more of that scheme, to have proposed such a modification of it as would have kept the members of the old administration together. I mention this to your lordships, in order that you may see that the language of my first note was founded on this previous communication to me."

Lord Bexley said, "He was induced again to resume office by the assurances he had received, that the line of

policy adopted in the administration of lord Liverpool, would not be abandoned."

Lord Melville said, "I estimate highly the talents of my right honourable friend; but I confess I do not think he can form an efficient government, such as the exigency of the country requires, if stripped of his old associates. I stated my opinion, that he was not an adequate substitute, (and I stated it without meaning to convey the slightest offence,) to carry on the same prudent, able, and useful superintendance which lord Liverpool had; and that the remaining portion of the government would, notwithstanding the splendid talents of my right honourable friend, be unequal to the task of governing this country."

The duke of Wellington, the lord chancellor, and the lords Melville and Westmoreland, severally denied having acted in concert.

Other noble lords spoke upon the subject, with less temperance than the principal parties aggrieved. The marquis of Londonderry said, "I do not go to a bookseller's to have *my* speeches reprinted; and, if I were to do so, I would not retract one sentence of what I have now uttered." His lordship alluded to the publication of Mr. Canning's speech on the affairs of Portugal, which differed materially from the speech as delivered in the House.

The earl of Winchelsea said of Mr. Canning, "In him consistency was never observable; ambition and *love of place* have been the pivots on which his whole political life turned."

On the 3d of May, the discussions in the lower House were more in the spirit of warfare, than on the preceding Tuesday. General Gascoyne, who had given notice of a motion regarding the shipping interest, was interrupted

by Mr. G. Dawson, who said, he had a question of considerable importance to ask, but that he did not see our hero in his place. After some discussion between Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Dawson, and the General, the latter gentleman agreed to give place to Mr. Dawson for five minutes. At this instant, Mr. Canning entered, and was loudly cheered. Mr. Dawson then asked, "Whether any arrangement had been made for filling up the offices of master of the mint, judge advocate, and surveyor-general of the woods and forests?"

Mr. Canning rose to reply, amid a breathless silence, said, "Yes," in a tone impossible to describe, and resumed his seat, amid the cheers and laughter of the House. Mr. Dawson then proceeded, though clearly out of order, to discuss the new arrangements. One of his assertions was as follows:—

"I look at the conduct of the right honourable gentleman at the head of affairs as having been dictated by no other motive than the gratification of his own personal ambition; and, disagreeable as it may be to the right honourable gentlemen to hear it, and disagreeable as it is for me to utter it, I tell the right honourable gentleman that he has not been over scrupulous as to the means by which his ambitious course has been pursued."

Mr. Brougham replied in a sarcastic and eloquent speech, and was followed by Mr. Canning, who spoke to order. With regard to Mr. Dawson, he said, "I can assure the honourable gentleman, I feel towards him no personal malice; I am too old a stager not to be able to bear this attack without resentment; I have had to endure the assaults of those benches (the Opposition) when filled by other persons of a quality which I am not likely soon again to experience.

"I have received no hint of the purpose of the honour-

able gentleman, and cannot imagine how the production of the patent for appointing the judge advocate, can have the effect *of satisfying his anxiety*, unless it is according to the old Cambridge question—that by taking the masts and guns of the ship, and dividing by the men, you can get at the name of the captain."

After Mr. Peel and sir Francis Burdett had spoken, Mr. Canning again awakened the attention of the House. He said, "I beg leave to assure the honourable gentleman opposite, that I heartily rejoice that the standard of opposition is now fairly unfurled; this is better than a thousand neutralities; and I trust that, wherever the sentiments of opposition have found a lurking place, they will come boldly forward." Loud cheers from Mr. Canning's party followed this; when they had subsided, he proceeded:—

"There are two questions to which I wish to reply.—I have been asked what I intend to do with the question of Parliamentary Reform, when it is brought forward?—What do I intend to do with it? Why, oppose it, as I have invariably done during the whole of my parliamentary career. What do I intend to do with the Test Act? Oppose it." *(Cheers from all parties.)*

The next day, in the House of Lords, the marquis of Londonderry was *delivered* as follows:—

"When I look at the building which has been erected, I find it divested of all its main pillars, and it is composed now of *a sort of rubbish.* The artificer has certainly been dexterous in forming the building, with respect to its durability! Could he have found out such a mass of rubbish in any other quarter, formed as it was by the two parties? The artificer has made a dexterous endeavour to un-whig a part of the whigs, and un-tory a part of the tories."

Samuel Goodrich.

Lord Goderich replied to his noble friend, "For so," said his lordship, "I will still call him, though he has been pleased to designate me as part of the rubbish." And the marquis explained that he applied that term to the new ministers only, and not to those who had formerly been members of the administration.

Lord King said, "Allusion having been made to a building, I will explain the term 'rubbish.' Any person practically acquainted with building must know, that *what is sent away* from the building is the *rubbish*."*

Amid other occurrences, sir H. Hardinge alluded in the Commons to the quarrel between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning, and quoted the words of the former gentleman;—but the attempt proved abortive, and the observation produced no effect. Both parties seemed to think an occurrence of a moment, like the quarrel alluded to, should not have been again mentioned. The parties had been reconciled on the spot, and were both too generous to harbour a feeling of resentment, after once avowing themselves satisfied. Mr. Canning's character for courage was well established; and Mr. Brougham has refused, on a recent occasion, to take any advantage of the protection his profession afforded in the satisfaction of a personal quarrel.

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* The attacks of the late ministry and their adherents were powerfully repelled by the colleagues and supporters of Mr. Canning, and ably backed by the press. Making allowances for the irritating circumstances which produced it, the following *morceau* is worthy of recollection:—"The late ministry—When the dust which these old cart horses of the government have raised, by restiveness and prancing on a road which is strange to them, shall have subsided, it will be discovered that their numbers are but few, their paces feeble, their condition miserable; and the prices, which they may again be bought at, little more than what are current in a knacker's yard."

On a subsequent occasion, the duke of Newcastle designated our hero "the most profligate minister that ever was in power;" and lord Goderich was provoked into the following appeal to the justice of the upper House :—

"If," said lord Goderich, "we cannot satisfy your lordships that we are doing our duties by holding the situations we now occupy, responsible as we are to his Majesty and the country, it is for your lordships to tell us so; but I do not think it justifiable, that, without notice, we should be *baited*, night after night, on *interlocutory* questions, which can produce no satisfactory result. I know enough of the feelings of the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Treasury, to declare, that he will concur with me in preferring that the question should be at once fairly brought to a regular and constitutional issue."

The united voice of the country was uplifted against the conduct of the late ministry, for an opposition to men who had not been tried in their several capacities. It is due to the celebrated resigners, however, to say, that the virulence emanated from the *lower* members of the late administration; and amongst them a species of abuse originated, before unknown to Parliament. Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel kept aloof from this petty party; and lords Melville and Bathurst must have looked with disgust upon the conduct of those whose acrimony was too evidently the effect of mortification and disappointment,—who seemed so distressingly attached to the emoluments of office, that they could not endure their delegation to other hands.

The first of what were termed Mr. Canning's measures, *i.e.* the motion for referring the Corn Bill to a committee, was carried in the upper House by a majo-

rity of fifty-seven, though the bill itself was ultimately lost.

He was in the minority, however, on lord John Russell's motion for disfranchising Penryn. Mr. Peel did not vote on the question.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Canning opened his budget, as chancellor of the exchequer, for the first time. Nothing of importance occurred during the sitting of Parliament. During the recess, Mr. Canning issued orders to the heads of the different departments, to transmit to him accurate and detailed accounts of the expenses of their several establishments, the salaries of officers, &c. with a view to a reduction of the burthens of the people.

Mr. Canning had no opportunity, and he would not *make* one, for exerting his splendid eloquence during the short session. His speech on the Committee of Ways and Means, was a clear and definite statement, and in it he made no attempt to exceed, in the tone of his speech, the nature of his subject. To the personal attacks upon him he uniformly replied with good humour and moderation; but he frequently deemed it unnecessary to reply at all. Indeed, through this session there was a dignity and elevation about Mr. Canning, that, from the impetuosity of his temper, we had scarcely hoped he possessed. His quiet demeanor, however, did much more than the eloquence of his most acrid opponents in either House. The virulence of the Oppositionists waxed fainter daily; and, ere the prorogation, had nearly subsided into tranquillity; at least as it regarded speeches. A new mode of attack, through the medium of the press, was then resorted to, by assertions the most unfounded and malicious; which, when refuted by the respectable and liberal part of the press, were then

re-asserted as the intentions of the Minister, had not what these journalists were pleased to call their timely exposure prevented them.

On the 15th of July, Mr. Canning was seriously indisposed; but a few days' rest enabled him again to attend to his public duties, which (contrary to advice) he did on the 19th. The following day he went to the seat of the duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick. On the 25th, he came to town, to transact business at Downing-street; and afterwards, with his lady, dined at the house of the marquis of Clanricarde. At table, however, he complained of feeling weak, and immediately after dinner he returned to Chiswick. There his health improved.

On the 1st of August the press announced as follows:—

"*Chiswick House.*—Mr. Canning derives increased health at Chiswick House; he transacts business in town daily, and generally returns in the evening, with the marquis of Clanricarde, to the duke of Devonshire's beautiful villa. This house was built by the great earl of Burlington, and for elegance of taste is known to surpass every seat in the kingdom. Kent, who was the architect, under the earl's directions, did wonders; but the grounds have been recently laid out in gardens of the most beautiful description. The present noble possessor has spared no expense to increase the natural charms of the villa. Cascades, grottos, and classic scenery, delight the eye in every point of view. The duke has a fine elephant, remarkable for sagacity and docility. The family of the Premier are much amused with the menagerie. There are several ostriches and animals of the deer species, which are objects of curiosity."

Mr. Canning with anxiety, we might say obstinacy, (did not such a devotion to the public demand a softer term,) continued determined in his resolution of attending to business, till the 2nd of August, when he became wholly incapable of doing so.

On the 3d, there was a consultation of physicians on

Mr. Canning's case. Four of the medical gentlemen remained all night at Chiswick.

During Saturday, frequent communications were sent to his Majesty at the Royal Lodge, to the lord chancellor, and all the cabinet ministers. On Saturday evening the symptoms became alarming; six medical gentlemen remained in attendance all night.

The press conveyed the distressing intelligence to the public in these words:—

"The accounts received of the state of Mr. Canning's health are of a nature to justify the worst forebodings. The following has been sent to us, as an accurate account of his illness. It appears that Mr. Canning has been much indisposed for the last three weeks. On Saturday and yesterday se'nnight his indisposition increased, notwithstanding which the right honourable gentleman waited on his Majesty at the Royal Lodge on Monday last. On Tuesday he came to town, and transacted business at his house in Downing-street. On Thursday he became so much worse, that he was confined to his bed with symptoms of inflammation, which, in the course of Friday and Saturday, became more urgent. Yesterday morning the following bulletin was issued:—

"'We regret to state, that Mr. Canning is suffering under a very severe attack of inflammation. He has passed the night with less pain, and the urgency of the symptoms is, at this moment, somewhat diminished.

(Signed) 'M. J. Tierney.
'J. R. Farre.
'H. Holland.

"Chiswick, Sunday morning, Aug. 5.'

"The slight degree of hope conveyed by the above, was in a great measure dissipated by the annexed bulletin, issued at eight o'clock on Sunday evening:—

" 'We lament to state, that the symptoms of Mr. Canning's disease have become so much worse since the morning, that we consider his life to be in imminent danger.

(Signed) 'M. J. TIERNEY.
'J. R. FARRE.
'H. HOLLAND.

'Chiswick, Aug. 5, Sunday, 8 p. m.'"

These announcements awakened an anxiety unparalleled—an anxiety as universal as sincere. The bulletins, and the remarks of the press, give the best idea of the sufferings of the patient, and the sympathy they excited. Under that impression, we transcribe the following from the journals of the 7th of August :—

" MR. CANNING.

" The physicians sat up with the right honourable gentleman on Sunday night, Mr. Canning continuing in the same alarming state. At eight o'clock yesterday morning they issued the following bulletin :—

" 'Mr. Canning has had sleep at intervals, during the night, but his danger is still imminent.'

" *Chiswick, two o'clock.*—Since writing the above, we understand, that the inflammatory symptoms have partially subsided; but, even should they wholly disappear, great doubts are entertained as to the result, so dreadfully has the patient suffered during the struggle. As may readily be supposed, he is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion, and now, for the first time, nourishing food has been administered to him. The inquiries of persons of rank and public eminence, during the morning, have been most numerous.

" Mrs. Canning has been constantly in attendance on her husband since his attack. The affectionate solicitude she evinces, excites the admiration of all who behold it.

" *Chiswick, eight o'clock.*—Up to this time visitors have continued to arrive in rapid succession, chiefly in carriages, but some on horseback; amongst the latter was lord William Bentinck, who came down in the same manner yesterday. Grooms have been constantly passing to and from London, either bearing or seeking intelligence with respect to the subject which at the present moment interests the whole kingdom. The result of what we have been able to collect is that no improvement is visible in Mr. Canning's state.

"*Half-past eight o'clock.*—The following bulletin has just been issued:—

"'We lament to say, that Mr. Canning still continues in a state of very great danger.

(Signed) 'M. J. TIERNEY.
'J. R. FARRE.
'Monday, Aug. 6.' 'H. HOLLAND.'

"*Chiswick, twelve o'clock.*—There has been no change in Mr. Canning's situation up to this moment, and it is understood that no bulletin will be published till morning.

"His illness is a violent attack of inflammation in his side, which has extended to his lungs. There was at one time a stoppage of the bowels, which was speedily removed, but without any abatement of the inflammation.

"It is probable that the general state of Mr. Canning's digestive organs, and the remedies to which he has been occasionally obliged to have recourse, may have rendered the treatment of his present attack extremely difficult.

"The indisposition of Mr. Canning is now of long standing; but it is only within the last three weeks that it has been considered at all serious. On Monday last it had increased, and was attended with much languor and irritability; notwithstanding which, however, Mr. Canning waited upon his Majesty at the Lodge at Windsor. On the following day he was evidently suffering from debility, but he came to town and transacted business. It was not until Thursday that inflammatory symptoms manifested themselves. On Friday they were so acute, that the alarmed members of his household did not expect that he would live through the day. On Saturday morning, there was so far an abatement of the worst symptoms, that hopes were entertained by his friends of his recovery; and these were cherished up to the evening: but it appears that the inflammation had been merely lowered a little, and not effectually subdued, by the skilful means resorted to by his medical attendants.

"*Chiswick, two o'clock.*—In so dangerous a state is the right honourable gentleman, that no carriages have been allowed during the day to drive up to the house, nor has any visitor been allowed to call there, with the exception of Mr. Canning's own daughter, who has been unremitting in her attendance on her father. A book is kept at the Lodge, for visitors to insert their names, as no bell is allowed to be rung, nor any other kind of noise to be made in the house where the patient is. Four physicians are in constant attendance, and sir William Knighton is also with Mr. Canning.

"The greatest anxiety pervades the countenance of every individual, and the inquiries at the Lodge are exceedingly numerous. The greatest caution is observed in respect to the answers given to inquiries. The prevailing opinion here still is, that the right honourable gentleman cannot survive the day."

Mr. Canning's fate was now universally considered inevitable; this fact might be gathered from the anticipatory grief of his friends—the silence of his enemies—the certainty of his dissolution alone could put a period to their malignity.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the pain, which is usually attendant upon the disease under which he suffered, namely, inflammation of the bowels, abated. Shortly after, he went to sleep. The medical attendants, of course, viewed this circumstance with great anxiety; for the subsiding of pain on such occasions is critical, and betokens either the removal of inflammation or the commencement of mortification, which always ends in the death of the patient. When Mr. Canning awoke, however, after about four hours' sleep, the physicians found that the inflammatory symptoms had not entirely disappeared. This removed all fears of mortification, and left the case in nearly the same situation as before.

It was now evident to the medical advisers of the right hon. gentleman, that his strength had already been so extremely reduced, that it would be impossible to continue to use the usual remedies of depletion, &c. Thus, though the apprehensions of immediate dissolution, owing to mortification, were dissipated, the friends of Mr. Canning were prevented from indulging hopes of his recovery, by the desperate situation in which he was placed. It was under these circumstances that the following bulletin was issued:—

"Chiswick, eight o'clock A. M.

"Mr. Canning's state of danger is still more urgent than at the time of last night's report.

"M. J. TIERNEY.
"J. R. FARRE.
"H. HOLLAND."

At one o'clock in the day, his physicians held a consultation. At three, Mr. Canning sank into a sleep, and slumbered very soundly for some hours. Soon after he awoke, the following bulletin was exhibited:—

"August 7, nine o'clock P. M.

"Mr. Canning has slept at intervals during the day, but his danger is not diminished.

"M. J. TIERNEY.
"J. R. FARRE.
"H. HOLLAND."

Amongst those who came to make their inquiries respecting Mr. Canning's state, this day, were, the duke of Beaufort, lord Fitzroy Somerset, lord Eliot, viscount Weymouth, Mr. R. Grant, M. P. Mr. C. Grant, M. P. earl Clanwilliam, sir J. Nugent, sir Thomas Lawrence, Mrs. and Miss Louth, the earl of Carhampton, lord Tullamore, the duke of Portland, the marchioness of Ailesbury, major and Mr. C. Fox, captain Marryatt, Mr. J. Forbes, Mr. Oldmixon, sir C. Forbes, M. P. Mr. Rumbold, Mr. R. Abercrombie, M. P. count Munster, Mr. O'Neill, M. P. count Palmella, lord Palmerston, lord Garvah, Mr. Holmes, M. P. marquis of Anglesea, lord Westmoreland, lady Westmeath, sir Herbert Taylor, sir Robert Farquhar, sir C. Campbell, colonel Doyle, sir James Shaw, lord Nugent, lord Petersham, sir Alexander Grant, lord Weymouth, Mr. Bernal, lady Mary Bentinck, lady Liverpool, viscount Melburn, lord Charleville, count de Villa Real, sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Hobhouse, marchioness of Lansdowne, the Speaker, sir Richard Strachan,

sir G. Webster, lord Stowell, sir Henry Torrens, Dr. Goodenough, R. H. Jenkinson, dowager marchioness of Lansdowne, Mr. Peel, Mr. W. J. Denison, lord Clare, Mr. Grenfell, the Chairman and the deputy Chairman of the East India Company, and all the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers.

At six o'clock, his royal highness the duke of Sussex arrived in an open carriage. He remained about a quarter of an hour in the house.

About four o'clock Mr. Canning's youngest son, for whom an express had been sent to York, arrived in a post-chaise.

Mrs. Canning never quitted for more than a few minutes the bed-side of her husband. She took scarcely any food, and her health suffered materially.

The same evening, the following announcement was made, though *not* as a bulletin :—

"Mr. Canning's bodily sufferings have diminished during yesterday and to-day, and he now only complains of great soreness in those parts where the pain was most dreadful.

"The internal inflammation is so general, extending over the whole trunk, that his medical attendants have been unable to determine what particular part may have been more immediately the seat of the disease—whether the inflammation has affected the lungs, the pleura, the liver, the kidneys, or the intestines, with greater or less violence."

Letters to official personages and private friends were despatched every half hour during the 7th of August.

Hope, which may truly be said to live upon the slightest breath, and only expire with it, existed amongst the people, though it was extinct in the breasts of those who were near the dying minister.

During the early part of the night of Tuesday, he had interviews with Mrs. Canning, his son, and daughter; he had nearly lost the power of speech, but was in full

possession of his faculties. The interview was extremely affecting.

A short time before the decease of her husband, Mrs. Canning was conversing with him, and he then spoke with perfect calmness and composure. As the conversation advanced, however, she observed that his voice gradually grew weaker, and the signs of approaching dissolution in his countenance alarmed her to such a degree, that she suddenly fainted, and in this situation was carried out of the room by the attendants. Happily, that amiable woman was spared, by the excess of her feelings, from the agony of seeing that life terminate on which her own hopes, and the hopes of the nation, hung:—those hopes were hushed for ever early on the morning of Wednesday, when the following bulletin was published:—

"Chiswick, August 8, four o'clock A. M.

"We lament to state that Mr. Canning expired this morning without pain, at ten minutes before four o'clock.

"M. J. TIERNEY.
"J. R. FARRE.
"H. HOLLAND."

It is a hopeless task to endeavour to convey to the reader the shock that this intelligence carried to every hearth in the kingdom; no pen could do justice to the universal feeling of the nation. But the death of Canning needs no historian—it will be handed down with a detail of its effect on his countrymen—by fathers to their children:—it will become matter of tradition, as well as record. England lost in him its common friend. She had looked upon him for the commencement of a new era—of prosperity and of glory; there were no real interests of the empire that were not involved in his destiny. The country at large looked forward to his direction to emancipate them from oppressive burthens; they looked to

him for the extension of our commerce, through the medium of a more liberal policy; for a retrenchment of our expenses at home—an increase of our consequence abroad. Literature looked up to him as an ally; the Arts claimed him for their friend; amid orators he stood the first; and the learned had ratified, by their approbation, his claim to the name of scholar. Let us look yet farther: Europe saw in him much to fear—more to admire; foreign nations knew his talents, and had greater reason to know his firmness—his expedition; he was a minister they could neither bribe nor overreach; they respected the country through the medium of its representative, and well knew how firm their reliance could be on the support of an ally, who maintained its own dignity, under counsels at once liberal, elevated, and wise. The sister kingdom looked on the Premier as their last, their brightest hope; as the man from whose lips they were to hear the word "emancipation"—and from whose policy they were to enjoy the fruition of Union; whilst, from a more distant region, the victim of tyranny and of persecution lifted up his manacled hands, breathed the name of his advocate, and hoped that his "young barbarians" might at least see the day when slavery should be no more. There were other interests, scarcely less dear, that hung on the existence of our hero. The eighth of August extinguished all these hopes,—they lie in one grave.—Others may arise, who, on individual questions, or on abstract points, may display an energy equal, an intelligence as great, a devotion as entire, as that displayed by Canning; but who shall bring either the power or the will to further *all* these interests, as he did—as he would have done? —No man!

We turn from this melancholy retrospect, to describe the disorder that destroyed him. The complaint to which

Mr. Canning was most subject was lumbago, and the attack which he had at Brighton last year was so severe and protracted, that it was apprehended a small affusion of water had taken place in the chest; but, had Mr. Canning's labours been less severe, it is probable that that would have been absorbed, and his health restored to a better tone; and, only a day or two before the last and fatal attack, he wrote a letter stating that he felt so much better at Chiswick, that he hoped to do without medicine altogether.

When, on the morning of Monday, the 30th of July, he set out to attend his royal master at Windsor, he felt himself still convalescent. He remained with his Majesty during the day, which was an uncommonly warm one, and returned in the cool of the evening. The evening was close, and he threw open the carriage windows for the sake of air, and very unguardedly leaned back in the carriage to avoid the current. By this means, the one part of his body was exposed to the draught of the air and the other not, and the inequality of temperature brought on a severe attack of lumbago, which increased upon the Tuesday, in consequence of the exertion of attending to his official duties. A blister was applied without producing any relief, and he was then cupped. The blood which was taken from him had the buffy coat, and all the other indications of inflammation, which was, from the seat of the pain, known to be inflammation of the kidneys. Twenty-four hours had elapsed before the physicians had a consultation; and, by that time, the inflammation had extended to the peritoneal coat of the intestines, and no treatment could mitigate its severity. From the intestines, the inflammation proceeded to the diaphragm, which separates the cavity of the abdomen from that of the thorax, and attacked first the lungs, and

then the liver; and, after the right honourable gentleman had endured pain almost unparalleled in human suffering, the whole internal frame became insensible, and he sunk away under the effects of the gangrene.

It is absolutely impossible to imagine death to be accompanied by more excruciating pain, than Mr. Canning suffered. It was absolutely worse than if he had been severed limb by limb, or tortured, as the American Indians were used to torture their unfortunate prisoners; but though, while his physical strength failed, and his groans were most affecting, that mind, which had never quailed to a political antagonist, remained, in its moments of consciousness, firm to the last.

The coincidence between the last days of Canning and of Fox are singular. They died in the same house—were buried in the same place.

About the middle of *June*, 1806, a few months after having formed an administration, of which he was the head, Mr. Fox made his last appearance in Parliament. In *August*, he was with difficulty removed to the villa of the duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick, where, after undergoing sundry operations, he soon afterwards breathed his last, aged fifty-seven years some months. He was buried in a vault in Westminster Abbey, near the remains of his great rival, Pitt.

At the latter end of *June*, 1827, also a few months after having been appointed to the head of the administration, Mr. Canning made his last appearance in Parliament. Illness assuming a still more serious aspect, Mr. Canning was invited by the duke of Devonshire to reside at the fine villa, Chiswick, in the hope that change of air might renovate health. He also there underwent several operations; but soon afterwards breathed his last—about Mr. Fox's age—dying in the same room in which Mr.

CHISWICK HOUSE.

Fox expired. He was buried near the vaults of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox—namely, in the aisle of Westminster Abbey, formed by the great western door.

A few words are due to the relict of such a man. Of Mrs. Canning the world has heard little. Unobtrusiveness is the characteristic of the women of our country; even their virtues and their talents are secluded, as though they blushed at the recital of their own worth. The sister-in-law of the duke of Portland was, in accomplishments, in genius, in beauty, and in virtue, worthy to be the wife of Canning. The most elaborate eulogy could not confer higher praise. For twenty-eight years this amiable lady shared in the pleasures, in the griefs, in the sufferings, and in the glories of her husband. Those years were passed in the purest and most exalted affection. How futile, how weak, then, must have been all efforts to console her at his loss. She who had watched with that unceasing care that woman only watches round the bed of sickness; at length falling the victim of her fear, was borne senseless from his chamber; within an hour afterwards, he, for whom she suffered, had ceased to exist; the fact was not communicated to her for some time: whilst all England was mourning his loss, she, to whom that loss was a bereavement that naught on earth could compensate, alone was ignorant of her fate; she only knew not she was a widow. When she at length knew it———But let us draw a veil over that picture; such sorrow is too sacred for description,—such wounds, closed but not healed by time, must not be re-opened by a fruitless endeavour to probe them.

Mr. Canning left two sons; the eldest a captain in the navy, the youngest, at present, at Eton; and one daughter, the marchioness of Clanricarde.

The exclamation of the younger son, at the moment

that his father's dissolution was known to him, was affecting from its simplicity. He clasped his hands and cried, "Dead! Oh, God, is he dead?—and my brother not here!" The allusion this had to the consolation his mother would need from such a presence,—to the unavailing regret his brother must feel, when he should know that that glorious spirit was quenched,—were all conveyed in that short but emphatic sentence.

The first shock of surprise and grief had hardly subsided, when the question of—Who shall succeed him?—became general. The majority thought the choice must fall on the nobleman his Majesty afterwards selected; some, however, were not slow in asserting that Mr. Huskisson would be the Premier; and no inconsiderable party imagined that Mr. Peel would return to the councils of his Majesty. The proceedings of the Cabinet were prompt and decisive.

The marquis of Lansdowne left town at half-past ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, to communicate the death of Mr. Canning to his Majesty, at his Royal Lodge in Windsor Park; and returned to town about four o'clock; at which hour, the Cabinet ministers assembled at the residence of the late Mr. Canning, in Downing Street. Those present were, the duke of Portland, the marquis of Lansdowne, the marquis of Anglesea, the earl of Harrowby, the earl of Carlisle, viscount Dudley and Ward, viscount Palmerston, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Tierney, and lord Bexley. The lord chancellor arrived at the council at five o'clock. The ministers continued in deliberation till half-past six o'clock. Viscount Goderich left town about half-past two o'clock on the same day, in his carriage and four, for the Royal Lodge in Windsor Park, to attend the King, having received his Majesty's commands for that purpose. The right honour-

able Sturges Bourne left town at the same time, having also received a communication from his Majesty to proceed to Windsor, to attend his Majesty. The viscount Goderich, after a long audience of the King, returned to town in the evening, when he sent a communication to the lord chancellor, who had left town for his seat at Wimbledon. The lord chancellor came to town between eight and nine o'clock on Thursday morning, and had an interview with viscount Goderich, at his residence in Downing Street. The right honourable Sturges Bourne, who arrived in town from attending his Majesty on Wednesday evening, had an interview with viscount Goderich and the lord chancellor, which lasted a considerable time. Lord Goderich then issued summonses for the Cabinet ministers to attend a Cabinet council. About half-past twelve, the lord chancellor visited viscount Goderich, and continued with his lordship until the Cabinet had assembled. The Cabinet council was held at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, at one o'clock on Thursday afternoon, and attended by the lord chancellor, the marquis of Lansdowne, the marquis of Anglesea, the earl of Harrowby, the earl of Carlisle, viscount Goderich, viscount Dudley and Ward, viscount Palmerston, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Sturges Bourne, lord Bexley, and Mr. Tierney. The ministers sat in deliberation upwards of two hours. A messenger was despatched to the Royal Lodge in Windsor Park, immediately after the separating of the ministers, conveying despatches which, it was understood, contained the result of the deliberation of the Cabinet council. After the breaking up of the Cabinet council, the marquis of Lansdowne and the right honourable Sturges Bourne held a long conference with viscount Goderich. Mr. Sturges Bourne had afterwards an interview with Mr. Wynn.

The duke of Portland arrived in Downing Street after the breaking up of the Cabinet council. His grace proceeded to the residence of viscount Goderich, and had an interview with his lordship. The marquis of Anglesea also visited the noble viscount.

At nine o'clock the same night, another Cabinet council was held at the Foreign Office, which was attended by the lord chancellor, the duke of Portland, the marquis of Lansdowne, the marquis of Anglesea, earl Harrowby, earl Carlisle, viscount Goderich, viscount Dudley and Ward, viscount Palmerston, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Tierney, and lord Bexley. The council did not break up till half-past eleven o'clock.

After the breaking up of the Cabinet council on Thursday night, a messenger was despatched to the King at his Royal Lodge. At five o'clock on Friday afternoon, a Cabinet council was held at the Foreign Office, which was attended by the lord chancellor, the duke of Portland, the marquis of Lansdowne, the marquis of Anglesea, viscount Goderich, viscount Dudley and Ward, viscount Palmerston, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Tierney, and lord Bexley. The ministers sat in deliberation for about two hours. A short time previous to the meeting of the Cabinet council, Lord Goderich *received despatches from Windsor, from his Majesty.*

The lord chancellor and the marquis of Anglesea had a conference with viscount Goderich after the breaking up of the Cabinet council.

On Saturday, the 11th, it was made public, that lord Goderich was to succeed the deceased minister.

The funeral, which was to be as private as possible, was fixed for the following Thursday; and, on Tuesday, an advertisement appeared, couched in these words:—

"Those friends who are desirous of paying the last tribute of respect to Mr. Canning's memory, by being present in the Abbey, at his funeral, are requested to send their names to Mr. Jarvis, 139, Long Acre, before ten o'clock this evening.

"The tickets will be delivered by Mr. Jarvis, after one o'clock to-morrow."

Mr. Jarvis's house was literally besieged by thousands, who were anxiously endeavouring to obtain a glimpse of the coffin, that was to contain the remains of the illustrious deceased. The servants of the nobility and gentry (who, in compliance with the advertisement, applied for admissions at Mr. Jarvis's) had the greatest difficulty to get to the door to deliver their letters. The coffin was completed about seven o'clock, and remained in Mr. Jarvis's possession until after nightfall, when it was removed to Downing Street, and the shell, containing the remains of Mr. Canning, deposited in it. The number of applicants for tickets, up to this period, amounted to upwards of eight hundred.

The 16th of August was fixed for the funeral. Of that awful ceremony, we, of course, must give an account. We are not amongst those who prefer repeating, in our own words, what has been better said by others. We present the affecting report given by *The Times*. It is beyond our power to add one syllable to that excellently written article; and we are well assured, that the reader will rather applaud our judgment in selecting a paper, written at the moment, under the strong impression of the scene, and by a writer of undoubted talent, to any thing that we (or perhaps any one) could attempt to pen, now when the scene has passed away, and its impression faded—a scene, to which it is as painful to recur, as it would be difficult to pourtray.

"Soon after the death of the late lamented Premier, it was announced that his funeral would be what is

called private—that is, that the body should be followed to the grave only by the near relations of the deceased, a few of his particular private friends, and those of his official colleagues who remained in town. Notwithstanding this intention, numerous applications were made daily, from several public bodies and private individuals, for permission to evince their respect for the departed Statesman, and their sympathy in the general grief for his loss, by attending at the funeral, and forming part of the procession. These offers, however, for the reason already stated, were all respectfully declined, and the original intention strictly adhered to. As far, then, as the arrangement of Mr. Canning's friends, and the absence of that great pomp and splendour which sometimes attend the last obsequies of the great, came into consideration, the funeral was a private one, but in no other sense could it be so described. The thousands of the most respectable classes who attended to witness, and who actually made themselves a part of, the procession,—the still more numerous assemblage of persons of all descriptions, who thronged every avenue and place by which it was to pass,—and, above all, the intense interest and deep anxiety pervading the whole assembled multitude, gave it the appearance, not only of a public, but, if we may so describe it, of a national funeral. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise; the name of the lamented Statesman, gifted as he was with such extraordinary endowments, and adorned with such splendid and rarely assembled acquirements, was one of which his countrymen had just reason to be proud. But there were stronger motives than those of national vanity, to excite their feelings of sorrow on this melancholy occasion. The name of Canning was associated in the public mind with the ardent and powerful advo-

cacy of principles of domestic and foreign policy, some already in progress, others known to be in contemplation, in which not only the political and commercial prosperity of England are deeply interested, but on which depend, in a great measure, the tranquillity of the governments in the old world, and the permanence of those lately established in the new. The loss of such a man, at such a time, was well calculated to call forth the strongest expressions of deep regret amongst all classes of his fellow-subjects. That regret was exhibited in the conduct of the assembled multitude, more strongly and intensely than, we believe, was witnessed at the death of any subject within the memory of the oldest person now living.

"The scene exhibited during the early part of the day, in Parliament-street, and in all the avenues leading to Westminster Abbey, will long be remembered in the metropolis.

"At an early hour in the morning, the Abbey bell beginning to toll, announced the approach of the hour when the remains of the lamented Premier were to be consigned to the silent tomb; and until the moment the corpse was deposited in the grave, that solemn ceremony, with some short intermissions, was continued. Some hours before the time appointed for the mournful procession to leave Downing-street, vast numbers of respectably-dressed individuals, most of whom were in mourning, began to congregate in the streets in that vicinity. Although up to eleven o'clock no outward preparations were manifested, not even the customary observance of placing mutes at the door, about that hour some of the mourning coaches were driven down Whitehall, for the purpose of proceeding to the residences of those distinguished individuals who were

selected to follow the lamented Minister to his grave, and conveying them to Downing Street.

"Shortly after eleven o'clock, two mutes, dressed in the usual manner, with scarfs, sashes, and wands, were stationed at the doors of the Foreign Office; and others of the undertaker's men were now rapidly passing to and fro, busily engaged in making the necessary arrangements for the solemn pageantry. About twelve o'clock, the first mourning coach drove up to the door; and after that period the distinguished characters, who were to join in the mournful procession, at intervals arrived. The crowd now began sensibly to increase, and it required the active assistance of the police to effect a passage for the carriages. At a few minutes before one, the hearse, drawn by six fine black horses, drove up to the door; and within a few minutes of that hour, every thing being arranged, the coffin, borne by eight of the undertaker's men, was brought out of the house, and deposited in it; Downing Street having, in the mean time, been cleared, and a barrier placed at the entrance of it.

"The procession then moved in the following order:—

Mr. Jarvis, the Undertaker.
Two Mutes in silk dresses.
Page. Plume of ostrich feathers. Page.
Two Mutes in silk dresses.

THE BODY,

In a magnificent Hearse, drawn by Six Horses, and led by Six Pages.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, attended by Eight Pages.

Carriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex; in which sat his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

First Mourning Coach:
Duke of Portland, Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Garvagh, Captain Hunn, Mr. C. Canning.

Second Mourning Coach:
Dean of Hereford, Rev. W. Canning, Mr. Denison, Lord G. Bentinck, Mr. Stapleton.

Third Mourning Coach:
Mr. Planta, Lord Howard de Walden, Lord William Hervey, Mr. Barnett.

Fourth Mourning Coach:
Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Carlisle, Lord Goderich, Marquis of Lansdowne.

Fifth Mourning Coach:
Marquis of Anglesea, Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Bexley, Lord Palmerston.

Sixth Mourning Coach:
Mr. Wynn, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Backhouse.

Seventh Mourning Coach:
Duke of Devonshire, Marquis of Conyngham, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Sir W. Knighton.

Eighth Mourning Coach:
Earl Morley, Lord Seaford, Lord Binning, the Speaker.

Ninth Mourning Coach:
Sir M. Tierney, Dr. Holland, Dr. Farre, Mr. Shuter.

"The procession was closed by the private carriages of many distinguished noblemen and gentlemen; those of the duke of Gloucester and the duke of Portland had six horses each.

"In this manner the procession moved slowly down Parliament-street, and Little Bridge-street, to the north-west door of the Abbey. The crowd was now immense; so much so, that, notwithstanding the heavy fall of rain, which had driven vast numbers to take refuge in the adjoining houses, the whole line of road was almost impassable.

"At twenty minutes before two o'clock, the funeral procession arrived at the great western gate of the Abbey. The marshals, mutes, and pursuivants entered first, with a large plateau of black plumes. After they had advanced a few paces up the aisle, the Rev. Dr. Ireland, dean of Westminster, and the Rev. Mr. Bentinck, who

had been for some time waiting by the side of the great gateway, near the monument of Mr. Pitt, met the coffin, and, as they preceded it into the Abbey, read the commencement of the burial service. As they advanced up the aisle, the mourners, whose names we have already mentioned, followed in the following order:—First, Mr. C. Canning, the son of the deceased, as chief mourner, supported on the right hand by his royal highness the duke of Clarence, and on the left by his royal highness the duke of Sussex, and his uncle, the duke of Portland. Next, the marquis of Clanricarde, accompanied by the private secretary of the deceased, Mr. Stapleton. Then the earl of Carlisle, the marquis of Stafford, and earl Morley; the marquis of Conyngham, the duke of Devonshire, and lord Leveson Gower; the lord chancellor, lord Goderich, and the marquis of Lansdowne; Mr. Sturges Bourne, sir G. Cockburn, and Mr. Backhouse. As they advanced up the aisle, the members of the *corps diplomatique*, among whom were the prince Esterhazy, the prince de Lieven, count Munster, and the marquis of Palmella, fell into their rear; and after them came those distinguished personages of our own country, who, though not of the family, were anxious to evince their respect for the memory of the departed senator. They had previously assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber, from which they proceeded to the interior of the Abbey, on learning the approach of the funeral to it. They ranged themselves along the left side of the north aisle, and as the procession passed them, gradually filed off into its ranks. The following are the names of some of the distinguished individuals who were present on this melancholy occasion:—

"Earls Cowper, Clarendon, Fife, Gosford, Ossory; lords Auckland, Elliott, Grantham, Kensington, W. Russell, and Weymouth; right honourables M. Fitzgerald, C. Grant, W. Horton; sirs T.

Acland, R. Alexander, F. Baker, F. Burdett, J. Croft, C. Forbes, A. Johnson, T. Lawrence, James Macintosh, Henry Parnell, P. Roche, C. Robinson, James Scarlett, John Sinclair, James Shaw, N. Tindal, and R. Wilson; Messrs. Abercromby, Burton, Calcraft, Clifford, Croker, Creevey, Easthope, R. Grant, Joseph Hume, J. G. Lambton, C. N. Pallmer, general Phipps, Dr. Phillimore, Spring Rice, W. Smith, H. Twiss, &c. &c. Lord Harrowby sent an apology for his absence. He is at present in Devonshire. The following foreign noblemen had also provided themselves with tickets:— the duke de Montebello, viscount Chateauvillars, and the baron de Kreiza.

"In this manner the procession marched up the aisle to the place of sepulchre in the transept, amidst the audible sobs of some, and the suppressed grief of others of the mourners. When strangers were affected, it is needless to say how deeply the immediate relative and friends of Mr. Canning felt upon this occasion. His son, (a most interesting youth,) struggled, but in vain, to conceal the grief which devoured him. Tears were in the eyes of lord Goderich, lord Seaford, the duke of Devonshire, and three or four other individuals, with whose names we were unacquainted. Some of Mr. Canning's servants mingled in the crowd around his grave, and showed by the violence of their sorrow how deeply they lamented the loss which they had sustained.

"Upon a temporary platform, erected for the purpose, and placed over the grave of Mr. Pitt, the coffin of Mr. Canning rested, while the burial service was in the course of performance. During the whole of that impressive ceremony, and especially during that part of it, in which the coffin is lowered into the grave, and dust is committed to dust, it would be impossible for words to convey an adequate idea of the intense feeling which pervaded the assembly. At the conclusion of it, many persons stepped over the matting which surrounded the vault, and took an anxious survey of the sacred deposit which had just

been intrusted to its keeping. The inscription on the coffin, which was covered with crimson velvet, was as follows :—

Depositum.
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING,
One of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,
First Lord Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury,
Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the
Exchequer of Great Britain and Ireland,
And a Governor of the Charter-house, &c. &c.
Born 11th April, 1770.
Died 8th August, 1827.

"As the clock struck two, the funeral pageant came to its end; and then slowly, and by degrees, the mourners retired from the hallowed spot, which contained the remains of him, whom they had long admired as a statesman, and affectionately loved as a friend. Among the first to depart were their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence and of Sussex. They were followed by the marquis of Clanricarde and Mr. Charles Canning. As they were quitting the transept and entering into the aisle of the Abbey, their royal highnesses turned round, shook hands with Mr. Charles Canning, and addressed at parting some consolatory words both to him and his brother-in-law. The members of the *corps diplomatique* were the next who left this mausoleum of greatness, and were followed at leisure by the various noblemen and gentlemen who had walked in the procession. We never saw more unfeigned sorrow than that which was exhibited in the countenances of the actors in this mournful scene; and the consequence was, that a corresponding feeling was excited in the breasts of those who were only spectators. The place in which they were assembled, holding in its precincts the sacred ashes of departed sages, heroes, patriots, and kings, was of itself calculated to inspire sensa-

tions of melancholy regret, and to produce a conviction of the frail and uncertain tenure on which all earthly grandeur and distinction is enjoyed; and those sensations were aggravated in intenseness, and that conviction was brought more home to the perceptions of men on the present occasion, by the reflection that the enlightened individual whom they saw committed to the grave full of honours, if not of years, had raised himself by his own talents, from a comparatively humble condition, to the highest situation to which a subject's ambition can aspire under a regular government; and that, after he had unexpectedly gained that proud eminence, he was shortly and suddenly called away from it, almost before he could be said to have had time to explore the whole of the extensive prospect lying at his feet. He who contrasts the 'cold obstruction' in which Mr. Canning now lies, with the magnificent hopes which flourished in his view a few short weeks ago—only as it would seem to be the more unpiteously blasted—will readily acknowledge not merely the justice of the pathetic exclamations in which Cicero vented his grief for the loss of Lucius Crassus, but also the extraordinary coincidence which existed between the closing fates of the Roman and the British patriot. 'How fallacious are our hopes!—how uncertain our fortunes! how full of vanity our noblest struggles!—which in mid career often break down and perish, and are forgotten, before we even gain a sight of the distant goal which we are labouring to reach. For in that very year in which Lucius Crassus first attained the highest power in the state, after previously discharging all its minor offices,—in that very year were all the prospects and projects of his life overturned and destroyed by death. That event covered his family with sorrow, his country with disappointment, and all good men with distress.' Yet, it is a proud consola-

tion to the family of Mr. Canning to feel, that, in their hour of bereavement, they did not lament alone. All that is distinguished for science and for learning, for liberal sentiment and for political ability, for commercial wealth and for hereditary rank, in this great empire, sympathised with their loss; and the vulgar, 'the brute vulgar,' as they are sometimes superciliously called, embalmed with their tears,—the richest tribute which they could pay to departed greatness,—the memory of him, who did not think himself too highly raised above 'their order' to feel for their wants, and to relieve their grievances. Every lover of freedom in the old world and in the new,—every friend to his species in every civilised nation under heaven,—in short, every man, who had not drank too deeply of

> ———'The baleful dregs
> 'Of these late ages, of th' inglorious draught
> 'Of servitude and folly,—'

and so 'defiled the native honours of the human soul,' felt that he had lost in Mr. Canning an associate, a protector, and a powerful benefactor.

> 'While Freedom lives, his memory shall be dear,
> 'And reap fresh honours each succeeding year;
> 'Nations preserved shall yield immortal fame,
> 'And endless ages bless his glorious name.' "

It might have been supposed, that when Canning slept beside the statesman it had been his pride to emulate—when he could no longer wear the dignities to which his enemies aspired—when they could no more dread that eloquence that delighted all the world beside; it might then have been supposed, that the voice of malignity would have grown still.—Not so;—they who cowered before him when living, insulted his memory when dead; and, hopeless to find aught in his public acts on which to

found a calumny, they raised an outcry against his faith. It is an old pretence of enmity to make such an avowal, as shall enforce the proof of a negative on the other party—a proof the most difficult to adduce. Happily for the memory of the Minister, and for the feelings of his surviving relatives, there are abundant evidences that Mr. Canning was a Christian. We would ask these slanderers of the dead, if the epitaph on his son is the language of an infidel? If the tenor of his private life was that of an infidel? If, in his public speeches, his thanks to the great ruling power, for its dispensation of gifts to his country, were the aspirations of an infidel? A thousand instances might be cited to prove that Mr. Canning was a Christian, and his very spirit of toleration was the highest emblem of that Christianity. He lost no opportunity of attributing aught of good that happened on this sphere to the only source of all goodness. On the treaty of peace, (29th June, 1814) he spoke as follo ws:—

"The prospect which the treaty holds out, in the settlement of the ancient governments of Europe, in the restoration of genuine tranquillity, is peculiarly cheering to every friend of humanity, of social order, and of rational liberty. Thus, the great objects of the war, which, overleaping the truce of Amiens, have for twenty years been steadily and uniformly pursued, are at length happily attained. Thus the principles upon which the war was undertaken are established:—thus our pledges are redeemed,—thus our perseverance is rewarded. So great and gratifying a result, so far exceeding the most sanguine calculations, can only be attributed to the interposition of an overruling Providence."

We might multiply these facts, but it is needless. It

has been as beautifully as truly said, that "Heaven would forgive man praying for himself, whilst he was engaged in acts that made others pray for him." This was, indeed, Mr. Canning's case; his private benevolence awakened the prayers and blessings of the indigent around him.

These unworthy attacks on the memory of this great man, occasioned a letter from a relative, the Rev. W. Canning, of Berkshire, from which we take the following extract:—

"You know, as well as I do, (and we are told that we are to judge of the tree by its fruits,) that there could hardly have been a man existing more correctly moral than George Canning—correct from principle, and not from apathy. As a husband, a father, a master, his conduct was irreproachable; and as a son it was not only irreproachable, but such that I firmly believe, if all the circumstances of it be ever known, the pages which relate it will be considered as the brightest in his whole history. As a young man, I should say, that although not always as attentive as he ought to have been, he was far more attentive to his religious duties than most young men; and from the time of his marriage, as I understand, he was as regular in his attendance at church as his avocations would allow; and had constantly service at home, whenever his family were prevented from attending the public service. And this is the man whom his enemies would stigmatise as devoid of religion! It only shows how deadly is the rancour of party spirit, and how true it is that there is no one whom a man hates so intensely as the person whom he has injured. Both the good and the bad qualities of this highly gifted man are now before the world; and I have no doubt, that in spite of the worst efforts of his ingenious enemies, he has left those behind him who will do justice to his character, and who, in defiance of his faults—faults that will appear like nothing when compared to his virtues—will represent him as he really was—amiable in his own family and among his friends; and, as a public man, high-spirited, candid, disinterested, indefatigable in serving his country, and seeking the reward of those services, not in the wealth or rank they might procure, but in their own renown, and in the good they might do to mankind.

"WILLIAM CANNING."

The marquis of Hertford returned from Russia, and Mr. Huskisson from Paris, the instant the news of Mr. Canning's demise reached them.

At Liverpool, on the day of the funeral, all the shops in the town were partially closed; the bells tolled all day; all the ships in the harbour had their flags half-mast, and the public buildings displayed theirs half-staff.

At Seaford, the borough for which Mr. Canning sat, the shops were closed, and the bells tolled through the day.

The merchants at Havre met, and raised a subscription for a medal. At Paris, a more considerable body did the same. The French newspapers announced the intelligence with a mourning border, an honour never before conceded to aught but royalty. This circumstance may seem too trivial for mention; but those who know the French court, and the prejudices that subsist in it, will know that this little fact establishes the very high estimation the minister must have been held in, in that country.

The Parisian papers, speaking of the support given by France to "the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world," said—

"In directing the policy of Great Britain towards this object, Mr. Canning made himself the benefactor of a great number of nations. The people of South America, when they learn the premature end of the peace-making minister *(ministre pacificateur)*, who was the first in Europe to salute them as independent states, will bewail the illustrious friend of whom death has deprived them, at the very moment when, as a last benefit, he had suppressed the intestine war that was raging amongst them, and, by one act, had rendered the banks of La Plata peaceful, and its waters free. Portugal will bewail the minister who saved her from the disgrace of invasion, the

horrors of a civil war, and the return to slavery under an absolute power thirsting for sanguinary vengeance. Greece will bewail the minister who took her under his protection when she was in extreme distress, and who proclaimed the necessity and justice of securing the Greek territory to the children of Greece; and all the other nations will bewail the great man who showed, by his deeds, to what extent he judged fitting to realise the thought which was first and most worthily confided to us. Let us, then, to keep the rank which becomes us, take the lead of all other people in the expression of our regret and respect for the friend of nations.—Let us have engraved, by the most skilful of our artists, a medal, in which, on one side, shall be inscribed his and our device.

'Civil and religious liberty throughout the world;'

The other side shall have his likeness, with these words:—

'In the name of all nations—the French.
'To George Canning.'

"We shall thus become the organ of two grateful worlds.—This is a part worthy of France."

The day after the funeral, an address of condolence was forwarded to his Majesty from Keighley.

A public meeting took place at Birmingham, and voted an address of condolence to his Majesty, with their thanks, for his Majesty's having formed a ministry that would ensure that just, enlightened, and beneficent policy, which had, through Mr. Canning, directed the councils and exalted the character of the country. The meeting was numerous and respectably attended. A meeting took place at Liverpool; the sixth resolution of which was, that a monument be erected to his memory.

At Berlin,* and at Vienna, the news of his death produced a general consternation.

It were easy to multiply the instances of honours done to the memory of our hero; but as many are now in progress, we shall leave this to be recorded hereafter.

A melancholy event accompanied the decease of Canning. Bernard O'Reilly (a gentleman who had explored the arctic regions in 1817, and published a work upon the subject, and who subsequently visited Van Dieman's Land, New South Wales, Java, Bengal, St. Helena, &c., engaged in botanical, geological, and zoological researches) expired, as it was at first thought, by his own hands, but, as it was proved on the inquest, by an apoplectic fit. O'Reilly was known to Mr. Canning, who intended to have granted him some appointment. He returned to his lodgings on the Tuesday night, (7th of August.) He inquired the latest intelligence of Mr. Canning's state of health. His landlord replied, "I fear much for his safety." Poor O'Reilly rejoined, "Oh, God! if *he* should unhappily die, all my hopes are blighted!" The next morning he was a corpse, having expired at the same time with him on whom his hopes of existence depended.

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* The following is an extract from the Berlin press:—

"*Berlin, August* 18.—The first news of the death of Mr. Canning was received at the Foreign Office, at ten in the morning of the 14th. Baron Von Werther, our ambassador at Paris, sent it by a Prussian courier at Frankfort, to the postmaster-general, M. Von Nagler, who immediately despatched two expresses, one to the King at Toplitz, the other to Berlin. As early as ten o'clock in the morning of the 15th, our merchants had accounts from London of the 11th, announcing that the Canning administration would continue under lord Goderich; for which reason our exchange was but very slightly affected."

His will, which was proved immediately, and which our readers will remember was made the night previous to his duel with lord Castlereagh, ran as follows :—

"*The Will of the Right Honourable* GEORGE CANNING, *First Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

"This is the last Will and Testament of me, the right honourable George Canning, of Gloucester Place, Brompton, in the county of Middlesex. I give and bequeath unto my dear wife, Joan Canning, all and singular my personal estate and effects whatsoever and wheresoever, and of what nature and kind soever, (subject to the payment of my just debts, and funeral and testamentary expences,) to and for her own absolute use and benefit. And I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint my said dear wife, and the most honourable William Henry Cavendish Bentinck Scott, marquis of Titchfield, executrix and executor of this my will, and guardians of my children, during their minorities. And I do hereby revoke all former and other wills by me at any time heretofore made. In witness whereof, I, the said George Canning, have hereunto set my hand and seal, this twentieth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine.

"GEORGE CANNING. (L. S)

"Signed, sealed, published, and declared, &c. in the presence of

"HENRY WELLESLEY.

"CHARLES ELLIS.

"I earnestly desire that Joan will either pay to my mother £2000, or (what I should prefer, if it can be secured) an annuity of £300 during her life."

The will and codicil were sworn at Doctors Commons, by oath of the most noble William Henry Cavendish Bentinck Scott, duke of Portland, (heretofore Titchfield,) one of the executors; a power being reserved to Joan Canning, widow, the relict, the other executor.

His effects were sworn under £20,000, but it has been since ascertained, that about £5000 or £6000 are their utmost amount. Is any other answer required, to those who affirmed that he clung to office, from the paltry consideration of the emoluments?

A numerous subscription has been entered into in London, to which almost every celebrated name in the country has already been subjoined, for a metropolitan monument.

Public discussions upon the merits of the deceased Minister have also taken place, and his virtues have been eulogised from the pulpit. From one sermon only, in honour of his memory, can we afford space to give an extract. The impression it produced will not be easily forgotten.

"What a singular instance has lately occurred of the vanity of all human grandeur and ambition, in the sudden death of our late Prime Minister, Mr. Canning:—a man, whose lofty genius, vivid wit, graceful utterance, and classic eloquence, held senates, (bound as by a spell) in one common admiration, and constrained even his adversaries to pay the tribute due to his unrivalled excellence—a man, whose liberal policy and expanded mind called forth a general ebullition of feeling from surrounding nations—a man, whose gigantic and towering intellect made despots tremble on their thrones, and fear the vessel which had such a pilot. Yet this Colossus of the nineteenth century is gone!—this glory of the country is no more!—this brightest star of the western hemisphere is set for ever! No sooner had he obtained the summit of his wishes, and the height of his ambition, than he was cut off out of the land of the living! His soul was required of him by a righteous God—his body has returned to the dust from whence it came, and his spirit to God, who gave it.

"This distinguished character was accompanied to the tomb, not with the insignia of power, the paraphernalia of greatness, and the glare of heraldic pomp; but by a British public, who, with grateful sympathy, dropped a

generous tear upon his failings, which for ever blotted them from the tablet of their recollection."

The loss sustained to societies in particular, as well as society in general, will be seen by observing some of the offices, political, literary, and charitable, with which Mr. Canning was connected, or over which he presided.

In addition to the high official stations of first lord commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor, and under treasurer of the exchequer, he was receiver-general of the Alienation Office; member for Seaford: an official trustee of the British Museum, and one of the few family trustees of the same national institution; a member of the Privy Council; one of the council of the Board of Trade and Plantations; a member of the Board of Control for the affairs of India; a bencher of Lincoln's Inn; a commissioner of the Royal Military Hospital, Chelsea; a governor of the Charter-house school; vice-president of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, Stamford-street; and vice-president of the Literary Fund.

Mr. Canning's ambition and vanity, say his enemies, were great. It is a new accusation against a public man, to accuse him of that:—that alone stimulates exertion. Since Cæsar fell, ambition (restrained within the bounds of justice) has never been deemed a crime. Mr. Canning's ambition was a noble one:—it was not personal aggrandisement, or private emolument—he did not thrust his family into offices of profit.* Had Mr. Canning sought aggrandisement, might he not have been

* Mr. Canning's mother had a pension of 500*l.* per annum; but it was under these circumstances:—when Mr. Canning retired in 1812, *he* was entitled to such a provision, and he then desired it might be settled on her instead of himself.

elevated to a peerage—nay, have obtained yet higher honours? Mr. Canning was contented with the honours his own fame procured him;—he was contented with the honour of being the Atlas of his country; and prized the *title* of "The People's Choice," above any other that could have been bestowed upon him. Nor did he stoop to obtain this: he never courted popular opinion—he rather encountered popular prejudices. On the question of Reform he always opposed the rabble and the vulgar. He persevered in serving his country, through good and ill report—he made no speeches to entrap the many—he won their voices by his acts, in spite of the *unpopularity* of his speeches. The acclamations of the people came to him unsought, not unwelcome. Mr. Canning was sensibly alive to the gratitude of his country, but he sought rather to deserve than to obtain it. When he did obtain it, it would be ridiculous to declare, that it was not a subject of delight and exultation to him. Mr. Canning's *vanity* did not prevent his giving the meed of praise, where praise was due. He frequently, indeed on all possible occasions, candidly admitted the source from whence he derived his principles and his policy. He never lost an opportunity of paying a tribute to the memory of Pitt; wherever he was, he mentioned him with reverence, as the great master from whom he had received the lessons of his public conduct. At Lisbon, in 1816, we find him saying, "To have been a disciple of Mr. Pitt, and to have been a sharer in those councils in which originated the struggle for the salvation of Portugal, are the two circumstances in my political life, on which, if on any, I look back with pride and gratification.

"It is a pride to me to have imbibed the principles of Mr. Pitt, and a gratification to receive your testimony of

the just application of those principles to the measures by which this country was saved; principles of which the characteristic was to cherish order and industry at home, as the true sources of commercial opulence and national strength;—abroad, to consider the peace, and power, and safety of Great Britain as bound up with the security of other nations." And on a hundred other occasions he acknowledged how much he owed to his great predecessor and preceptor.

Lord Byron always spoke of Mr. Canning in terms of eulogy; and those who know how little disposed his lordship was to praise any man in power, will appreciate his panegyric no less from that circumstance, than from the splendid powers of his mind, that made any *dicta* of his valuable. In the notes to Don Juan, he has these words:—"Canning is a genius, almost an universal one, an orator, a wit, a poet, a statesman; no man of talent can long pursue the path of his late predecessor, lord Castlereagh. If ever man saved his country, Canning can; but will he? I, for one, hope so." And in "The Age of Bronze," a poem abounding in censure and satire, he pauses in his vituperative course to pay the following tribute to our hero:—

"Yet something may remain, perchance, to chime
With reason, and, what's stranger still, with rhyme.
Even this thy genius, Canning! may permit,
Who, bred a statesman, still was born a wit!
And never e'en in that dull House could'st tame
To unleaven'd prose, thine own poetic flame.
Our last, our best, our only orator—
E'en I can praise thee—Tories do no more—
Nay, not so much—they hate thee, man, because
Thy spirit less upholds them, than it awes.
The hounds will gather to the huntsman's hollo,
And where he leads, the duteous pack will follow.

But not for love mistake their yelling cry;
Their yelp for game is not an eulogy.
Less faithful far than the four-footed pack,
A dubious scent would lure the bipeds back.
Thy saddle-girths are not yet quite secure,
Nor royal stallion's feet extremely sure;
The unwieldy old white horse is apt, at last,
To stumble, kick, and now and then stick fast,
With his great self and rider in the mud;
But what of that? the animal shows blood."

The great poet, from whom we have made this extract, did not deem it beneath his talent to produce the best enigma that has ever appeared. In the few moments of leisure that such a life as Canning's allowed, he sometimes descended to this elegant trifling. The product of some such moment was the following:—

"There is a noun of plural number,
Foe to rest and peaceful slumber;
Now, any word that you may take,
By adding *s* you plural make:
But if you add an *s* to this,
Strange is the metamorphosis;—
Plural is plural then no more,
And *sweet* what *bitter* was before."

SOLUTION.

"Though *bitter* cares the wearied mind enthral,
Yet one fond *sweet* caress can banish all."

There is one circumstance connected with the literary character of Mr. Canning, that has been yet unnoticed. It is a promise he had given to preside at the next Literary Fund dinner.* Never was England more literary than at present; and yet, never were her temples (for our booksellers have given this sounding title to their

* The last dinner of the Literary Fund was on the 9th May, 1827; lord John Russell presided on that occasion. We remember the

shops,) more difficult of access. Publication has, indeed, become a trade, a traffic of name, not of talent;—of title-pages, not of books: to be unknown, is to be devoid of genius, or of power. The number of writers, we well know, has fearfully increased; and it has been as truly as humorously said, that "if you placed your hand indiscriminately on any head in a crowd, it would be upon that of an author, or the friend of an author." But this increase has only been of respectable prose writers, pretty versifiers, and "something worse;" of those men, whose productions we read when we have nothing else to do, and forget, because they pen nothing that imprints itself on our memory:—in fact, authors who sometimes amuse, but never impress; who may produce some things that are spirited, or entertaining, but never any thing that is great. Of great writers there will always be a dearth. Genius is a diamond, polished, it is true, by art, but *only* polished by it—its creation is independent of education; and it would appear, that there is less of this wonderful though raw material now existing, than in former times;

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burst of applause with which the name of Canning was hailed. His lordship's speech will be read now with a feeling of grief, proportioned to the pleasure and exultation with which it was then heard.

"I have to communicate," said the chairman, "a circumstance from which you will anticipate great benefit; namely, that we are to have, as our president, at the next Anniversary, the right honourable George Canning. It has always been a governing principle with this society, to exclude all political considerations, and I shall certainly not deviate from the rule on this occasion; but Mr. Canning is himself attached to literary pursuits; and you will, therefore, hail, with just pride and satisfaction, the powerful support of that distinguished man. Cicero has said, that nothing is more delightful, after the fatigues and business of the day are over, than the indulgence of literary leisure. If, then, the man in power derives enjoyment and recreation from literature, it is only fair, that literature should receive protection from the man in power."

at least, it has not increased in quantity, if it has not (and we fear it has) decreased in quality. Education, like harness to the steed, though it directs him in his course, is likely to impede the rapidity of his flight, and to decrease his spirit. He who has read much, and feels laudably anxious to avoid not only imitation, but the bare imputation of it—places a curb on his own energies, that the less erudite genius escapes from; and thus it is, that in this march of education we are increasing the number of the *clever*, but not of the *great*. Glittering and showy are the qualifications of the present day; plated goods, that, for the little while they are to be used, may look as well as the genuine ore. It is in such a state of things that unfriended, even uneducated, genius, requires the aid that a society like the Literary Fund might afford it. It is not the Literary Fund, *as it is*, that we are to consider, but that institution as it might be;—not as a society doling out a pittance to a man who has written a dull book, and who, when the bookseller is no longer inclined to run a risk, comes to the society for succour from starvation;—not thus are we to regard it, but as a nursery for the young student—as a place of succour for the indigent—and a medium of notoriety for the obscure. To render it such an asylum for literature, it requires the patronage not only of talent, but of property and of power; not merely the names of individuals, but their exertions, their interest. Mr. Canning's presence at the annual dinner, at which a subscription is made, would have done much. England's Prime Minister—popular in that capacity—popular as a man and an orator;—known as a writer of great talent, and famed as a classical scholar;—looked on by all as one who, had he leisure to devote to its cause, might have done as much for the literature as he did for the policy of the country:—such a president must have

raised the society in importance, in popularity, and, consequently, in the power of doing good. Little thought the many—who rent the air with their acclamations when Canning's name was announced as the president of the ensuing anniversary—that, ere that period arrived, he would lie in coldness and oblivion, heedless of the praise that that day his name had elicited,—senseless to the cause that they proclaimed his desire to succour. An occurrence like this is more efficacious, in proving to us the fallacy of human hopes, the vanity of human wishes, than all the sermons that were ever preached; it tells us, that we are but dust;—like grains of sand in the hand of Providence, to be blown where its power pleases.

Those eulogists, who snatch at every opportunity to belabour with praise the object of their fulsome panegyric, have spoken loudly of Mr. Canning's classical attainments, and followed it up by instances from his speeches. Mr. Canning's rank as a classical scholar was indeed high; but this cannot be deduced from his speeches, for his quotations were invariably common-place. Mr. Canning's good sense urged him to suit his addresses to his auditors. He regarded quotation, as he did oratory in general, for its utility; and when he quoted, took care that the matter should not be beyond the *calibre* of his hearers' intellects. Every hour's experience proves, that there are a thousand "men of liberal education" to be met with, who are readily impressed with quotations from an author whom they have themselves studied; but who display no alacrity in construing the verses of those whom they have not read—men who are scholars by *memory* rather than *knowledge*. To enjoy a quotation, it is too often necessary that the antecedent and following passages should be familiar to the hearer, that he may seize the spirit, and thus illustrate the meaning of

the sentence. The orator knew this well; he, therefore, seldom, if ever, travelled out of the paths trodden at school, and always arranged his quotations for the especial benefit of the "country gentlemen."

These remarks, it will be perceived, are not intended to convey any imputation on the taste of the speaker; he never spoke *for the sake of speaking*, and he was the best judge of what quotations would prove the most serviceable auxiliaries; the observations are merely aimed at those biographers who praise "all and every thing," and attribute qualities to their hero, that he himself never thought of assuming. Mr. Canning's attainments have received the sanction of a much higher classical tribunal than the House of Commons ever was, or (from modern education) is ever likely to be.

However ill-adapted to the task, it becomes our duty, after having given our readers all the facilities in our power to judge of Canning, to lay before them our own impression of his character and powers. There is scarcely any subject on which men differ so much as in their estimates of talent; they differ not only in the conclusions drawn, but in their opinions on the premises from which they draw those conclusions. It is less with the hope of influencing the opinions of others, than from the necessity of expressing our own, that we venture on the following remarks.

It has been, with one or two exceptions, the principle of this volume, to select the praises of Canning from the works or speeches of his political opponents; by this means, our records of the panegyrics passed upon him, have gained in truth what they may have lost in frequency. We have now to speak our own sentiments; in which, we trust, we shall remain uninfluenced by any leaning to

party; our object is truth, and we shall endeavour not to suffer our feelings to overmaster our judgment.

Canning existed amongst the greatest men of the last century; he was the intimate of Burke, of Pitt, of Fox and Sheridan, with hundreds of names only inferior to the matchless four with which his name has been intermingled. It is impossible to speak of him without a review of those who surrounded him.

To attempt *now* to pourtray what those men were, would be as fruitless as it is unnecessary. With Burke Mr. Canning never came in collision; with Fox and Sheridan he sometimes did; but never in that marked manner, that distinguished his oratorical contests in after life. It is honourable, however, to have contested with those leviathans of the senate. Mr. Canning's trials of strength have been with Brougham, Whitbread, Ponsonby, Romilly, and Tierney. Of these men, two only were orators; but what the others wanted in eloquence was frequently made up by their adoption of the popular side of each question, whilst Mr. Canning had upon his shoulders the *onus* of defending unpopular dictums, of explaining reprehended (perhaps reprehensive) measures, and frequently of glossing over the errors of others. Whitbread's plain statements, his clear and ingenuous style, made reply difficult. He had, as it were, a personal character with the House; what he uttered, seemed to flow from the consciousness of his nature:—his manly assertions, made firmly but not obtrusively, caused contradiction to assume the air of insult; any attempt to *ridicule* his statements seemed contrary to the feeling of the House—a very dangerous point for an orator to combat against. Canning was the only man we ever heard, who satisfied the mind in replying to

Whitbread; there was a mildness in his manner towards him, that we never found in his addresses to another,—as if he felt conscious of the prepossessions in his favour. With Ponsonby, Mr. Canning had less difficulty;—an unpolished dogmatist, who seemed to affect plainness, and to act *ennui*, could be more roughly handled, without exciting any sympathies in his favour; besides, Mr. Ponsonby's assertions frequently rested on such fragile foundations, that he gave the lash into the hands of his opponent. Mr. P., who always appeared more or less inert, was sometimes roused into eloquence; but it has been said, and perhaps truly, that he shrunk from contesting with Canning.

Sir Samuel Romilly had more eloquence than either Ponsonby or Whitbread, but he was seldom engaged in any direct opposition; it was the desire of that amiable, that great man, to be useful to his fellow creatures;—he avoided hostilities, whilst his coadjutors sought them. With such a man it was difficult to contend; because he seemed to seek only what all were willing to accord. It was the failing of sir Samuel, however, to give way to irritability, which destroyed or weakened his powers, whilst this very failing stimulated Canning.

With Mr. Tierney, contest was yet more difficult, and, from that gentleman's transitions, more frequent. Mr. Tierney *is* a powerful, *was* a popular speaker; no man better understands the tactics of disputation; few can more readily handle its weapons. Mr. Tierney's powers of sarcasm are considerable; and when the freshness of youth and the ardency of opposition aided him—ere his conjunction with Addington had neutralised his powers, and contracted the sphere of their exercise—was a dangerous opponent: even Pitt found him so. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Canning generally proved a successful

adversary; and in his contests with him, either as a ministerial advocate or an oppositionist, commonly carried away the palm of victory.

With Grattan, Mr. Canning agreed on the one great subject; and Mr. Grattan spoke but little, during our hero's career, on any other.

It has been with Brougham, and with Brougham only, that Canning's powers have been fairly tried. He has opposed greater orators; but then he was an irresponsible speaker; he then rose as an adjunct, not a principal;—to defend the theories of another mind—not of his own. But with Brougham he frequently came into contest on points bearing upon the peculiarities of his own policy. They fairly launched their barks upon the ocean of discussion,—through storm and calm the contest continued,—and frequently victory remained dubious to the last. Brougham's eloquence is more condensed than Canning's, but it is consequently less elegant—his invectives are more bold, but less deep;—the wounds of his sarcasms are like the gashes of the butcher's knife—Canning's were the death thrusts of the polished sword. You admired Brougham most in the closet,—Canning infinitely more in the House. Brougham mars by his manner, more than Canning effected by his. In fact, in the very "torrent and whirlwind of his passion," Canning had an elegance and a dignity that always removed the idea of mere invective. Brougham's vituperation is the Niagara of oratory—it booms and roars around ye; Canning's flowed in a less tempestuous, but not less rapid stream, and it bore down all before it. Brougham's powers of sarcasm exceeded Canning's, but he has no humour, and little wit;—his tone is metallic—irony is his province—his wit only wounds; if you laugh, it is not in jocularity:—the objects of his sar-

casms are like the tortured victims of an Indian's ingenuity: he sears and brands them, then pauses awhile, and anon renews their tortures, till you take part with the sufferer, and cease to laugh at the jests that agonise, rather than delight. His weapon too frequently

"Carries a heartstain away on its blade."

Canning, on the contrary, always kept up a double feeling: he had a glance for his opponent, another for his auditors. He seemed to deem his task the mere tantalisation of one member, for the gratification of the rest;—he seemed less imbued with a desire to torture his victim, than to entertain his auditors. Though seeking the same *end* as Brougham, he did not expose the *means* so palpably;—he did not exhibit the *apparatus*, as Brougham does, and thus make the sufferer tremble at the prospect of punishment to come. On Canning's handsome and intellectual brow there beamed no lightnings of malignity: there was no scowl of hatred;—he did not wither with a look;—his fires were rather like those summer lightnings that are most vivid when the sky is most serene.

In an assembly of strangers, Brougham could not dispute the palm for a moment with Canning; but this arose more from the elocutionary power of the latter, and from those personal advantages, aided by an elegance of manner entirely his own, that carried you with him, against even the conviction of your reason; the influence of that manner was as wonderful as it was inexplicable; you were, indeed, "pleased, you knew not why," and could not accurately define "wherefore."

Mr. Canning, unfortunately, had generally more to fear from the weakness of his colleagues, than the strength of his opponents. The petulancy, of which he

was so constantly accused, was the impetuosity of a genius trammelled in the same yoke with inferior spirits. For many years, Mr. Canning was condemned to join in council with those whose minds were not sufficiently comprehensive to grasp the views that engaged his. It will scarcely be denied by any one but a peer, who suffers malignity to subvert judgment, that Castlereagh was every way inferior to our hero.* Percival was also very far below him as a financier, and they could not be compared for an instant as orators.

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* The following *morceau*, from the pen of a man esteemed as a writer and a critic, found a place in *The Examiner* of 1813, p. 766. We are particular in our reference, for it is scarcely credible, that the feeling of party could tempt such a man to utter sentiments so contrary to truth, sense, or justice. In a pretended summary of Mr. Canning's capabilities, this writer says:—

"It is evidently the perpetual care of Mr. Canning to make himself appear wiser and profounder than he is; and yet, to any one who thinks it worth his while to fathom him, there is no man whose depth is more easily discernible. His great excellence is the school-taught taste by which he shuns all vulgarities in opinion and diction, and is enabled, sometimes, to throw a classical air over a common subject:—his great defect is, that he does not think. All he says, partakes of the mustiness of memory; it is uttered with the tone of one who talks by book, and has none of the glowing freshness and cheering brightness of thoughts newly combined, or new created, by the genius of the speaker. His mind has none of those qualities which go to the composition of a great intellect; it has no grasp, little penetration, and no foresight. It has been said of some eminent persons, that they never were boys: it may be said of the person in question, that he will never be a man. He can never disengage himself from his puerile trammels, nor look at a subject with the eye of common sense and common experience. It has, indeed, frequently fallen to his lot to advocate the cause of wisdom; but, even then, his thoughts have been but in a low proportion to the dignity of his subject. He has been content to excite applause, by pretty arrangements of phrases, instead of impressing a respectful conviction by the enlargement and accuracy of his views. I allude to his florid

Those who accuse public men of vacillating from their principles by joining Mr. Canning, and who say that it was only when he came into absolute power that he held those liberal views that have ennobled his name, libel both the dead and the living. Mr. Canning always held the same opinions; but what could those opinions do, whilst other hands guided the helm of state? He might know their course was a wrong one—he might anticipate the storm, or foretel the wreck—but all they would permit him to do was, to point out the rocks on which they were about to split. So far, indeed, for their own safety, they were guided by his counsels; but, beyond that, they would not let him go; because they knew, when once he guided the bark of the nation, it would be into a boundless sea, in which *they* dreaded to emerge—who had been, through their lives, coasting along the narrow isthmus of Prejudice and Ignorance. It is the curse of improvement, to be called innovation. The ignorant and idle oppose alteration in any thing with which they are already acquainted, because they are either unable to understand the improvement, or too lazy to study its nature or its effect.

Canning only wanted the opportunity to display his principles; and perverse indeed must be those politicians who maintain, that the last year of his existence was the first of their development.

When Canning found himself surrounded by such coadjutors as Robinson, Peel, and Huskisson, he commenced that system of policy, that, it is to be hoped, his

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harangue on the Spanish war, on the Catholic claims, and on some late occasions. A few plain straight-forward sentences, uttered with the calm reasonableness of Lord Castlereagh, and the simple manly energy of Mr. Whitbread, have and deserve more weight than whole folio volumes of such speeches."

noble successor will pursue. Every day furnished a fresh proof of the principles he advocated; whilst the increasing friendships of those who had before been his opponents, the voice of commendation from the people, and the confidence of the Crown,—all tended to prove that those principles were as popular as they were just.

Of Mr. Peel, it is well known Mr. Canning had a very exalted opinion. But Mr. Peel's mind is too exclusively analytical, to take at once that generous and enlightened view of the interests of the country, that Canning did. Mr. Peel is rather slow in apprehending, and cautious in receiving, truths, that are also novelties. Mr. Canning seemed intuitively to dissect whatever came before him; and he consequently had matured his judgment, and acted upon it, on many subjects, ere his wary coadjutor had well examined them.

How high Mr. Huskisson stood in our hero's estimation, the eulogium he pronounced, during the discussion on the silk trade, fully evinced. Mr. Huskisson's speech on the shipping interest is a sufficient evidence of his talent.

But of Mr. Robinson, Mr. Canning's opinion was even more decisive. The duke of Wellington stated, in the House of Lords, that it was Mr. Canning's wish that Mr. Robinson should be elevated to a peerage, and placed at the head of the nation. The first of these wishes was accomplished during Canning's life; his death brought with it the completion of the second. Nominated by Canning, chosen by the King, and approved by the people, lord Goderich comes into power, under circumstances truly enviable—yet his task is Herculean; the hydra of prejudice has yet to be subdued.

Lord Goderich's popularity as chancellor of the exchequer, and the talent he displayed in that capacity, are

the best vouchers of his capabilities for a more elevated station. In his earlier life, when vice-president of the Board of Trade, he evinced an intelligence and knowledge that surprised and delighted all who knew him; and, in his late appointment of colonial secretary, he sustained his already high reputation in a new department. Lord Goderich is learned, without being pedantic. His knowledge is as various as it is profound. If he lacks some of the flowers of eloquence, he is not deficient in its fruits. As a speaker, he aims more at convincing than delighting; and appeals to the understanding rather than the imagination. As Canning trod in the steps of his great predecessor Pitt, diverging as the light of his own genius guided him, so, we trust, will lord Goderich pursue the path which Canning was preparing to tread—a path, that will lead at once to his own and the kingdom's glory, and make him immortal and his country blessed.

We have little more to add, and that must be confined to the memory of our hero alone.

He entered public life almost in his boyhood, and stood forward *then* as an opponent to men celebrated as statesmen and orators;—he was the protegé of the greatest minister England ever had; and his advancement to the premiership was predicted in his boyhood. His life was passed in combating difficulties, and subduing them. When he was appointed President of the Board of Control, how loud was the outcry—he was unfitted—unacquainted with the nature of its duties. A man of ardent mind and splendid talents may be unacquainted with the duties of an office, but he *cannot* be unfitted for them. All *knowledge* is within the attainment of human industry; and no duties can be so manifold, that the devotion of a very few years will not remove their difficulties. Canning entered that department ignorant of its details,

he left it when he had so far exceeded the expectations of his nominators, that those who appointed him to direct a committee, then selected him to govern a country.

He entered Liverpool a stranger, amid a population decidedly hostile to the principles he professed;—he avowed those principles, and opposed Parliamentary Reform, on the hustings: yet he carried his elections triumphantly, and ultimately extracted the breath of praise through the teeth of opposition.

It has been said, that one man never yet excelled in two things; the instances in refutation of this maxim have not been frequent: Canning is, perhaps, the brightest. As a statesman, his enemies must admit his greatness;—as an orator, they dare not dispute it;—his claim to the title of poet stands recorded by the greatest of modern bards.

In society, he was witty without display, and as unobtrusive as he was entertaining;—he was devoted to the pleasures of the table, but he never degenerated into excess:—he had a tear and a hand for charity, and frequently his feelings made inroads on his fortune, that frugality was forced to repair. Moore, in his admirable memoir of Sheridan, has recorded his kindness to that ill-fated man;* we could mention many other instances, but delicacy to the living checks our tribute to the dead.

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* We cannot refrain from the pleasure of extracting the passage:—"Soon after the return of Mr. Canning from Lisbon, a letter was put into his hands, in the House of Commons, which proved to be a request from his friend Sheridan, then lying ill a-bed, that he would oblige him with a loan of £100. It is unnecessary to say, that the request was promptly and feelingly complied with; and if the pupil has ever regretted leaving the politics of his master, it was not at that moment, at least, such a feeling was likely to present itself."

He was happy in a wife whose soul was congenial with his own;—her generous abandonment of her sister's forfeited portion, is one, amid many acts, that do honour to the heart of Mrs. Canning.

History affords no record of a genius at once so versatile and great. No monument that the art of sculptors may raise, can be half so lasting as the gratitude of his country, or so honourable as its grief at his loss. He died when his fame was at its summit;—his future days might have tended still farther to the good of his country, but they could not have extended his own glory. He did much for the nation by his conduct; more by his example: he has made it as difficult to follow his footsteps, as it would be dangerous to deviate from them. His successor should bring with him the same genius,—the same high-mindedness,—an intelligence as universal,—a discrimination as acute,—knowledge as profound:—all these should be combined with Canning's power of *enduring* and *subduing* opposition. England will scarcely be contented with less—human endowments cannot furnish more.

THE AUTHOR TO THE PUBLIC.

I CANNOT suffer the foregoing pages to go forth to the world without deprecating censure, by observing, that two months only were allotted me for a task which should have occupied at least as many years.

The public anxiety for a review of Canning's political career, affords one excuse for this hurried production. I might name another—but my feelings forbid it.

It was my wish to add to this volume such tributes to Canning's memory as poesy had furnished; but I found, with equal surprise and regret, that those whose powers were best fitted to the task, had not attempted it.

I am indebted for the following lines to the pen of the writer to whom I have already expressed my obligations.*

No one can think more humbly of my efforts than myself; but I trust I have neglected no available source of information,—that I have not suffered party feelings to obliterate truth, or awarded praise or censure to *men*, because I approved or disapproved of *measures*.

Other biographers will follow me, who unite to superior talent opportunities arising from connexion that I unfortunately do not possess. I am content to send forth my volume like an humble cotter's light, which guides the traveller during temporary darkness, but is neglected when the rising sun renders its influence weak, and its powers unavailing.

LEMAN THOMAS REDE.

* See the Preface.

THE DEATH OF CANNING.

I dream'd I stood on Afric's shore—
How warm that sky, how bright that sod!*
It bloom'd like that bless'd bow'r of yore,
Where sorrow's footsteps never trod.
"Oh, happy land! joy dwelleth here!"
I said, when mourning met my ear.

I mark'd the anguish of her sons,
The wordless woe that weeps alone,
That pity and communion shuns,
And vents in solitude the moan.
"Heav'n smiles," I cried, "and smiles for thee—
Smile too, for ye at least are free!"

"True, *we* are free," the mourners cried,
"But who shall burst our fathers' chains?
Who guard our huts, our babes, our brides,
Who drive the enslaver from our plains?
Ask ye, why Afric's sons deplore?—
The friend of Africa's no more!"

My slumb'ring fancy flew again
To eastern climes; and o'er the waves,
To islands blooming in the main,
Where God made Eden†—man made slaves.
'Twas midnight—but they sought not sleep:—
Their labour done—they paused to weep.

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* *Negroland* is the most fertile and beautiful part of Africa.

† Eden has been placed, by conjecture, in Mesopotamia, Armenia, &c. &c. Some Orientalists say, Ceylon was Eden; whilst others affirm, that it was on different Asiatic islands. Asia, *where slavery had its birth*, is, to this hour, infamous for cruelty to its victims

"Oh! is it for your fetter'd hands,
Your branded brows, you weep?" I cried;
The dusky victim, tearful, stands—
Oh! tears of mingled grief and pride!
"Insult and injury would not wake
Our *tears* alone,"—and thus he spake:—

"We weep for *him*, whose pow'r had riven
Our fetters, and revenged the brand;
For him, who, call'd by God to Heav'n,
Has left us in the oppressor's hand.
Chains, brands, the scourge, thro' hope we bore,
But *he* is dead!—we hope no more!"

My spirit wing'd its aërial way
To a GREEN ISLE, where beauty blush'd:
Its sons were now no longer gay;
E'en childhood's happy laugh was hush'd.
Her children feel, as hope departs,
The voiceless grief of broken hearts.

The land of wit was wrapp'd in gloom,
Still'd was her voice, and flown her mirth,
As if the darkness of the tomb
Had spread its shadow o'er the earth.
I read on ev'ry pallid brow,
"Who shall *emancipate* us now?"

From ev'ry clime a mourner came,
'Till mem'ry could no record keep:
All wept one loss—all breathed one name—
My sorrow burst the bands of sleep.
I woke, and found my dream was true—
My country! thou wert weeping, too.

The nation mourn'd a patriot gone,
An orator, a statesman, fled;
Genius, learning, wit, o'erthrown—
A poet and a Christian dead!
A separate grief each loss might claim—
ALL were combined with CANNING'S name!

I turn'd me from my kingdom's tears,
To the lone chamber of his bride:
Her loss, the treasured love of years,
All other woe was weak beside.
The country grieves her fav'rite flown—
She mourns a soul that was her own!

Oh! pity would insult such grief!
Mourn on—mankind is mourning, too!
Th' enlighten'd world has lost her chief—
But, ah! *he* was a world to you!
That world's a waste—for what shall bless
One desolate in loneliness?

'Neath pyramids proud monarchs rest,
Their memories and their names gone by;
But, buried in each Briton's breast,
Thy name, oh, CANNING! cannot die!
The noblest monument you claim,
All gratitude can give to fame.

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